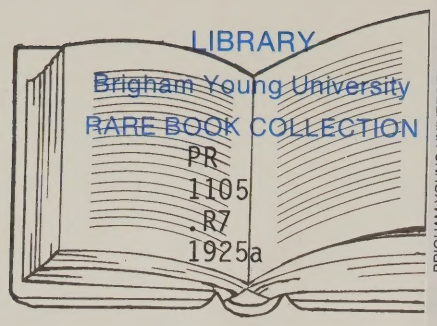
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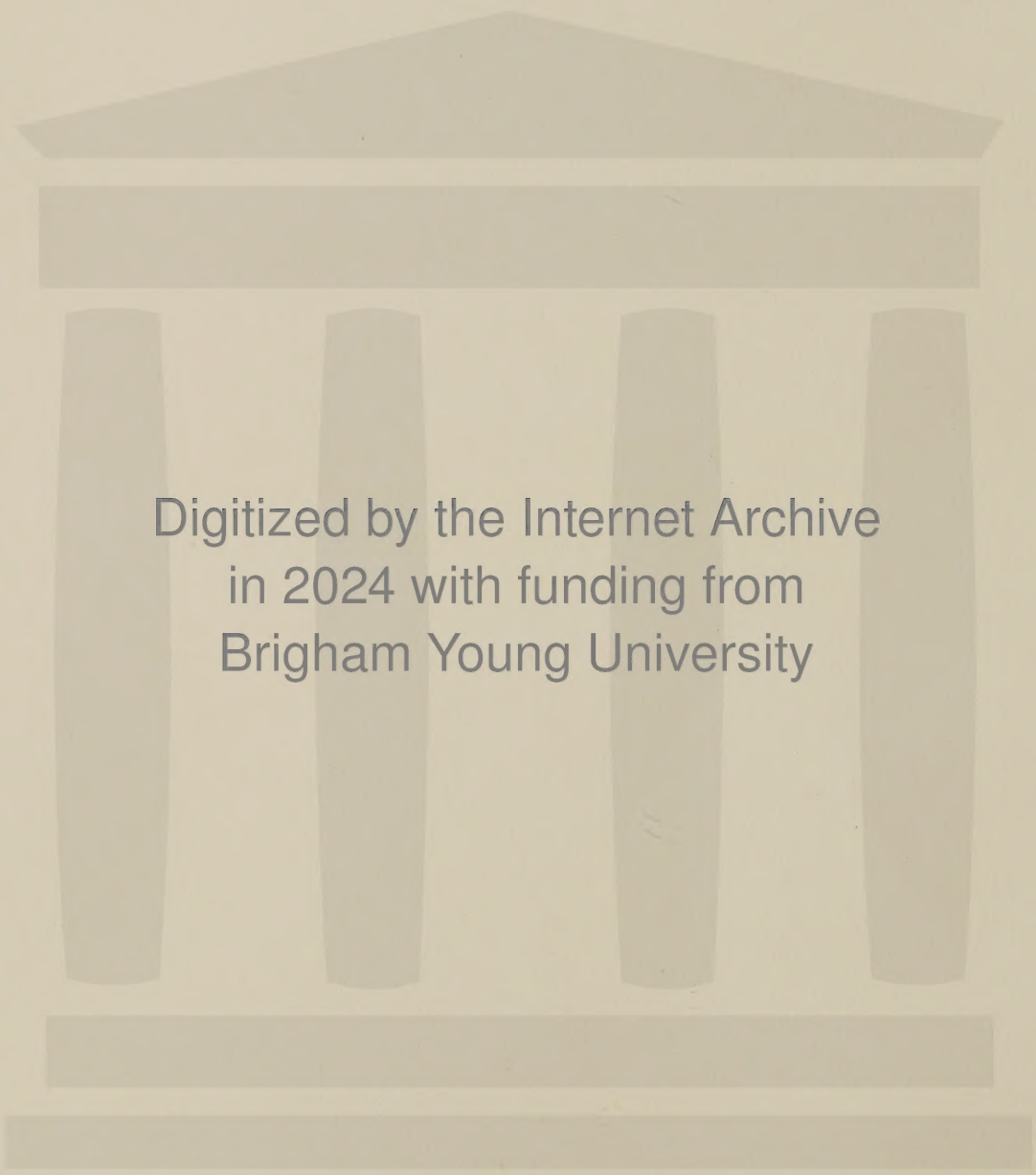
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PAPERS OF DEVOTION OF JAMES II

BEING A REPRODUCTION OF THE MS. IN THE HANDWRITING OF JAMES THE SECOND NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF MR. B. R. TOWNLEY BALFOUR

PRINTED IN ENGLAND
AT THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
BY FREDERICK HALL

The workes of the Lord are marvilous, and
his ways past finding out, and his mercy is
great to those that relons and that turne
at last to him, and are sensible of the sins
of their youth and their past errors and
misdeeds; twas the devine Providence
that drove me early out of my native country,
and obliged me for self preservation, to save
my self from the hands of my enemys, and
seek for shelter in forraine countrys, and
twas the same providence ordered it so, that I
past most of the twelve years I was absent in
Catholike Kingdomes, by wch means, I came to know
what their religion was wch in all liklyhood I
never had been so happy as to have done, had
not that dismal revolution happened, for had I remained
quiat at home, in all apearance, it would
have been impossible for me, considering the
care was taken to breed me up with a prejudice
to Catholike Religion, ever to have known
the true maxims of it, and consequently

PAPERS OF DEVOTION OF JAMES II

BEING A REPRODUCTION OF THE MS.
IN THE HANDWRITING OF JAMES THE
SECOND NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF
MR. B. R. TOWNLEY BALFOUR

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

GODFREY DAVIES

OXFORD
PRINTED FOR PRESENTATION TO THE MEMBERS OF
The Roxburghe Club
MCMXXV

DEDICATED AND PRESENTED

TO

THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS

OF

The Roxburghe Club

BY THE

EARL OF DERBY

The Roxburghe Club

M CM XXIV

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, K.G., K.T.

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HENRY YATES THOMPSON, ESQ.
CHARLES THEODORE HAGBERG WRIGHT, ESQ., LL.D.

December 1924

My cordial thanks are due to Mr. B. R. Townley Balfour, the owner of these interesting papers, for his courtesy in permitting their publication.

DERBY

22 December 1924.

Memorandum by the present owner of the MS. of James II here reproduced

My Father, the late Blayney Townley Balfour of Townley Hall, Drogheda, purchased this manuscript along with other relics of the Stuart Royal Family when on a visit to Rome in 1842. I quote his account of the purchase from a memorandum written by himself at the time—

'1842 The things in this drawer were purchased by me this spring from the Marquis Malatesta in an old house at the foot of the Capitol stairs. He inherited them from an Uncle, an intimate friend of Cardinal York's, who left them to him. They are relics of the Stuart Family. The book of devotions had never been out of the family till it left Cardinal York's house. Lady Bray bought a full length picture the same time.

B. T. B. Ju^nr'

Among the other relics purchased by my Father were three portraits—of Prince James the Chevalier, Prince Charles Edward and Cardinal York. There was also the original Marriage Certificate of Prince James and Marie Clementina of Poland. This certificate has been printed in a history of the marriage compiled by the late Sir John Gilbert, M.R.I.A.

Some extracts from the MS. of King James have been published in a report of the Historical MSS. Commission to which they were furnished by the late Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte who copied them in this house.

Some years ago I lent the present MS. to the Library of Trinity College Dublin for safe keeping.

B. R. T. BALFOUR, D.L.

Townley Hall.

September 1923.

INTRODUCTION

FEW kings have left so many literary remains as James II. These are of three kinds—memoirs, letters, and the devotional papers here printed. The subject of the memoirs is extremely difficult and can only be briefly discussed: the conclusions stated should be regarded as provisional. It is at least certain that James from early manhood adopted the practice of compiling autobiographical memoranda, and continued it all his life. Unfortunately, with the exception of the religious papers, the originals of nearly all these memoranda have perished. Their loss is to some extent made good by the existence of very considerable extracts made from them before their destruction during the French Revolution. These extracts are to be found in two works, *Original Papers containing the secret history of Great Britain from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover*, arranged by James Macpherson (London: 2 volumes, 1775), and *The Life of James the Second*, edited by J. S. Clarke and printed from the original manuscripts now at Windsor Castle (London: 2 volumes, 1816).

In the *Original Papers* are many extracts which Thomas Carte and Macpherson himself are said to have made from the 'Life of James the Second, written in that prince's own hand'. This is a misleading statement, inasmuch as Macpherson knew that James's memoirs consisted 'rather of memorandums made for his own use, when the transactions happened, than a regular narration of events'. It is regrettable that both he and Carte were content with an abridgement which 'in a great measure' preserved the language of the original. However, in spite of this unscholarly method of treating historical documents, these extracts are extremely valuable, and are, generally speaking, more reliable than the similar quotations from James's memoranda printed in the *Life*.[1]

The *Life* is a compilation by several writers, who based their narratives on the missing memoranda, and often give long extracts from them. The earliest portion, which was mainly concerned with James's service first in French and then in Spanish armies (1652–60), is said to be compiled by the secretary of the Duke of York 'out of memoirs written by

[1] I think Ranke (*History of England*, vi. 29–45) has proved this in his critical examination of James's memoirs, though I am not prepared to accept all his conclusions. Macpherson refers to the extracts he printed in his *Original Papers*, i. 5–6.

that prince'.[1] It is a very clear and satisfactory account of James's share in the wars in which he fought.

The next section, covering the years 1660–78, is by a different author, who supplies no marginal references to James's memoranda, and uses the third person throughout. It is obvious from the comments that it was composed some time after the events narrated, and often resembles a formal history more than a biography, though based in places on James's memoirs.[2]

With 1678 the quotations from James's own writings begin again, and are unusually full.[3] Since James III, commonly referred to as the Old Pretender, issued an order in 1707 for James's memoirs for 1678 and onwards to be brought to his court,[4] it is

[1] Clarke, i. 1–384. A French translation of the Duke's military career, 1652–8, given by James II to the Cardinal of Bouillon, was printed in Andrew Michael Ramsay's *Vie de Turenne* (Paris, 2 volumes, 4to), of which an English translation was published in London, 1735.

[2] According to Burnet, writing in 1683 (Miss H. C. Foxcroft's *Supplement to Burnet's History*, 1902, p. 50), James kept 'a journal of all that passes, of which he shewed me a great deal, and he has employed the late Dutchesse to write it out in the style of a History, for she writes very correctly, and he intended to have made me prosecute what he has begun, which he shewed me'. This intention of James to transform his memoirs into a history may be responsible for the impersonal style of the *Life*, 1660–78. The late duchess was Anne Hyde, who died in 1671.

[3] Clarke, i. 515.

[4] Clarke, i. xxiii; *Calendar of the Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle*, i. 209 (Hist. MSS. Comm. 1902).

a reasonable inference that this portion [1] of the *Life* was composed after that date, probably by a third compiler, who carried the biography down to James's death in 1701. The last part of it contains excerpts from the devotional papers, and their substantial identity with the holograph originals suggests that the other citations from the lost writings of James can be safely accepted as accurate.

The extant letters of James are exceedingly numerous and only the more important collections can be noticed here. His most frequent correspondent was his son-in-law, William of Orange, to whom he wrote several hundred letters during the decade 1678–88. Many of them are now among the Domestic State Papers in the Public Record Office, and a voluminous selection is printed in the second volume of Sir John Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: 1773). Others are in Groen van Prinsterer's *Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*, second series, v (Utrecht: 1861), and some for 1678–79 in the *Foljambe MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm. 1897), though most of these are duplicates of letters already published by Dalrymple. William, Marquis and then Duke of Queensberry, received more than a hundred letters from James during

[1] Novel features are references to Letters of Charles II and others, and to printed works, such as L'Estrange's *A Brief History of the Times.*

1682–5, and these are in the *Buccleugh and Queensberry MSS. at Drumlanrig Castle* (Hist. MSS. Comm. 1897). James's correspondence with George Legge, created Lord Dartmouth in 1682, covering 1679–82 and 1688, is in *Dartmouth MSS.* I (Hist. MSS. Comm. 1887). Other letters to Legge for 1679–81 were printed by the Marquise Campana de Cavelli in *Les Derniers Stuarts à Saint-Germain en Laye* (Paris: 1871), where many royal letters are to be found. His letters to Ormonde or to Ossory, beginning in 1651 and ending in 1682 are in *Ormonde MSS. I* (Hist. MSS. Comm. 1885), and those to his niece, Charlotte Fitzroy, Countess of Litchfield, are in *Archaeologia*, lviii.

James's political character is clearly revealed in these letters. The memoranda printed here elucidate and explain his religious life, which is the subject of this introduction.

Burnet tells us that James informed him that 'when he was in Flanders, being in a nunnery, a nun pressed him much about religion, and begged him to use this prayer every day to God, that if he was not in the right way He would bring him to it, which he said sunk deep in his mind and raised scruples in him. I asked him if he was in love with the nun, but he assured me she was no tempting object. He was reconciled to the Church of Rome while he was in

Flanders, but he dissembled the matter long after that . . . He is very firm in his persuasion, but he has not inquired much into it and is very much devoted to his priests, yet when I knew him he seemed very positive in his opinion against all persecution for conscience sake'[1].

James himself on several occasions stated in writing the reasons why he changed his religion, and in one place[2] mentions the nun to whose advice Burnet attributed so much importance. The account[3] James sent to his daughter Mary, Princess of Orange, of the reasons why he became a Papist is the most elaborate, and is here summarized so that it can be compared with the narrative in the devotional papers.[4]

He explained that he was brought up a strict member of the Anglican Church by Dr. Richard Steward,[5] and thought it a point of honour to adhere

[1] Written in 1683. *Supplement*, pp. 51–2. Burnet made various changes in, and additions to, this paragraph when he revised it in 1705, the most important being: 'He never told me when or where he was reconciled'. *History of My Own Time*, i. 169.

[2] Clarke, i. 630.

[3] James gave a copy of this letter to Pepys, and it is printed in John Smith's *The Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys* (London, 1841), ii. 322–26. There is a copy in French, printed in *Lettres et Mémoires de Marie Reine D'Angleterre Épouse de Guillaume III*, edited by Mechtild, Countess Bentinck, The Hague, 1880.

[4] pp. 1–3. James's account of his conversion should be compared with his first wife's explanation of the reasons why she became a Roman Catholic in Appendix I. There is a remarkable similarity in the two narratives.

[5] See the *Life of Richard Steward*, by Nicholas Pocock, 1908.

to the religious convictions in which he had been educated. During his exile (1648–60) no Roman Catholic whatsoever tried to persuade him to alter his religion, and for most of the time no doubts troubled his conscience. The first consideration which led him to examine the basis of his faith was the exemplary lives of Catholics of every degree with whom he came into contact, and the way in which converts abandoned their vicious habits and 'became good Christians. Upon inquiry he came to the conclusion that both Catholics and their religion had been much traduced. He then examined the reasons why the various reformed churches had separated themselves from the Catholic Church, read theological works such as Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and consulted Anglican divines, but received no satisfaction. After studying the Scriptures he was persuaded that Jesus Christ had left behind him an infallible Church, and that this infallibility was lodged in the Roman Catholic Church. He next considered the question of the authenticity of the Scriptures themselves, and found that they had been declared canonical by the Church, which on account of its uninterrupted descent from the Apostles was assuredly better able to interpret them than private individuals, who under pretence of a reformation had been the authors of new opinions and more concerned with temporal than

spiritual affairs. The conviction that the Roman Catholic Church alone claimed, or could claim, this infallibility, was the principal cause of his conversion.

It is regrettable that this statement does not indicate the time when he became convinced that the Roman Catholic was the true Church. According to the *Life*[1] James began in 1669 to think seriously of his salvation, and consulted a Jesuit on the possibility of his being received into the Catholic Church while still attending Anglican services. He found this to be impossible, and about the same time he learnt from his brother Charles II of the design for establishing Roman Catholicism in England which was embodied in the Secret Treaty of Dover a year later. By this treaty Charles agreed to join Louis XIV in a war to crush the Dutch, and was promised a French pension and army to assist him in the event of his subjects' rebelling when he declared himself a Catholic. In 1672 Charles commenced hostilities against Holland, and issued a Declaration of Indulgence, which suspended the Penal Laws, as a first step towards his end. The general opposition he encountered convinced the King of the impossibility of success, and in 1673 he cancelled the Declaration and assented to the Test Act which compelled all office-holders to take the sacrament according to the rites of the

[1] *Life*, i. 440–1.

Church of England and to repudiate transubstantiation.[1] Charles now abandoned once for all his intention of restoring the Papal authority in England, and remained a nominal member of the Anglican Church until on his death-bed.

James, however, was made of sterner stuff. During 1672 he ceased to attend the communion services,[2] and his absence, the loyal Evelyn relates, 'gave exceeding grief and scandal to the whole nation, that the heir of it, and the son of a martyr for the Protestant religion, should apostatize. What the consequence of this will be, God only knows, and wise men dread.'[3] This dismay increased when James resigned his position as Lord High Admiral in 1673 rather than comply with the Test Act, and married in the same year the Roman Catholic Mary of Modena. In 1676 he removed any lingering doubts that might remain about his religion by refusing to attend any Anglican services—much to the annoyance of the King.[4] He remained as unyielding in his refusal to dissemble his religion during the Protestant *furore* consequent upon the revelation by Titus Oates and other informers of the Popish Plot. Even when it appeared probable that adherence to Catholicism

[1] Peace was concluded with Holland in 1674.
[2] Clarke, i. 482–3, 631; Burnet, *History*, i. 308.
[3] *Diary*, 30 March 1673.
[4] Campana de Cavelli, i. 166–8.

would result in his exclusion from the throne he never faltered. 'Pray once for all', he wrote to a friend, 'never say anything to me again of turning Protestant; do not expect it or flatter yourself that I shall ever be it; I never shall; and if occasion were, I hope God would give me grace to suffer death for the true catholick Religion, as well as banishment. What I have done was not hastily but upon mature consideration and foreseeing all and more than has yet happened to me, and did others enquire into the Religion as I have done, without prejudice, prepossession, or partial affection, they would be of the same mind in point of Religion as I am.'[1] This most honourable constancy to his faith met its reward when Charles II with remarkable adroitness defeated the Whig Exclusionists and recalled his brother from exile in 1682.

James, however, completely failed to realize that Charles had triumphed by giving ground and then taking advantage of the mistakes of his opponents. Just as he considered that his father had been ruined by concessions, so he thought that the cause of monarchy was being lost by his brother's compliance during 1679–81 with the demands of Parliament, except when the succession to the crown was in question. As early as May 1679 James wrote that

[1] To George Legge, 12/22 July, 1679. Campana de Cavelli, i. 285.

'if his Majesty make but one step more, I meane make any farther concessions, he is gone'.[1] A few weeks later in reference to the Exclusion Bill, he said that it 'was against law, and destroys the very being of the monarky, which I thanke God, yett has had no dependancy on Parliments nor on nothing but God alone, nor never can, and be a monarky; and I hope his Majesty will be of this mind, and never lett this House of Commons sitt againe. If he does, he is ruined for ever.'[2]

Since James held these extreme views of the divine right of kings, the Revolution was inevitable, for his determination to establish religious toleration was certain to alienate the only considerable body of Englishmen who believed in passive obedience—the members of the Anglican Church. Similarly the violations of the constitution and the inroads upon the liberty of the individual James committed in pursuit of his ends, were bound to unite in opposition to him the majority of Nonconformists, whose dread of Popery and Absolutism outweighed their desire for the suspension of persecution. Many acts of James, and of his ally Louis XIV, seemed to justify Shaftesbury's famous dictum that 'Popery and slavery, like two sisters, go hand-in-hand'.[3] And the toleration

[1] i.e. ruined. To William of Orange. *Foljambe MSS.*, p. 131.
[2] 26 June/6 July 1679. To William of Orange, *ibid.*, p. 134.
[3] Speech on 25 March 1679. Christie, *Life of Shaftesbury*, ii, app. vi.

he proclaimed appeared to contemporaries merely as an expedient whereby a small Roman Catholic minority should dominate a large Protestant majority, and both his actions and his later writings afford his critics some justification.[1] When in 1688 he was faced by a coalition between his disaffected subjects and William of Orange, he displayed neither statesmanship nor courage. His efforts to save his throne then, and his attempts to recover it later, reveal a curious blend of childish folly, petty revengefulness, and moral cowardice. These devotional papers help to unravel the psychological enigma presented by his character.

Perhaps the most striking feature in these memoranda is the total omission of any appreciation of the true causes of his downfall. Just as he attributed his exile during the Commonwealth and Protectorate to a divine providence, which thus afforded him an opportunity of studying the true faith, so he came to regard the loss of his throne as a just punishment for his immoral life. He himself wrote that he had 'liued so many yeares in almost a perpetual course of sin, not only in the days of my youth when I was carried away with the heat of it, and ill example, but euen after when I was come to yeares of more discresion, and that Thou hads[t] been plesed to haue

[1] Thus, his 'Advice to his Son', in Clarke's *Life*, ii.

called me from the pit of heresy, to haue oppend my eis to haue known and embrased Thy true Religion'.[1]

There can be no doubt that James paid dearly for his sexual indulgences. Burnet in sketching his character in 1683 remarks that 'he has pursued many secret pleasures, but never with an open avowing them, and he does condemn himself for it, but yet he is ever going on from one intrigue to another, though it is generally thought that these have been very fatal to him, and that the death of so many of his children is owing to that'.[2] What Burnet plainly hinted at, others stated openly, and caused that widely-spread notion that any children he might have in the future would die in their infancy. This was the cause of the popular belief in 1688 that James Francis Edward was a supposititious infant. The same reason explains the remarkable change in James's character as he grew older. His bravery had won general admiration when he was serving in France and Flanders, or commanding the English Fleet during the Dutch Wars; but his flights from England in 1688 and from Ireland in 1690 prove that his courage had degenerated into timidity and vacillation.

The contents of the manuscripts here printed are very miscellaneous, and consist of pious reflections

[1] *Infra*, p. 61; cf. pp. 144–5; *Life*, ii. 585.

[2] *Supplement*, p. 51.

written down from time to time without any method and often left unfinished. They are interesting because they prove the devotion James felt for his religion, and reveal the sincerity of his repentance for what he calls his 'predominant sin'. At the same time incidental references throw some light on his outlook towards life in general, and contain some curious judgements on men and events.

The first section is the most connected. It was written both to give advice to new converts and to convince others, particularly members of the Anglican Church.[1] It especially warns proselytes that adherents of the Church they had left would watch their behaviour, ready to detect the least fault, so that they must be ever on their guard to avoid giving occasion for scandal. James sorrowfully confessed that his was an ill example, but states as a great truth and of his own knowledge, that he never knew a true convert whose conduct did not visibly become more righteous. On the other hand, those who abandoned the Catholic faith and turned Protestant were so far from improving that they generally led worse lives than before, and often were downright atheists. Indeed, all heresies and schisms have sprung and developed from pride, covetousness, want of humility and looseness of life, which is proved by the motives

[1] pp. 3, 26.

which moved Luther to preach his new doctrines and separate himself from the Church.[1]

James counsels those not yet convinced of the truth of Roman Catholicism to satisfy their scruples by reading the papers in which his first wife and his brother had explained the reasons for their conversion.[2] As soon as they are convinced they should not postpone their reception into the Church, lest they might delay too long and be surprised by a sudden death. After their reconciliation, they should choose carefully their confessor and give him their whole confidence. As to worldly matters, they should avoid evil company, be cautious of going to theatres and balls, which are very dangerous to frequent,[3] and only enjoy innocent recreations such as hunting or shooting for the sake of exercise. Young people should abstain from reading romances, which is at best a waste of time and apt to instil foolish ideas, especially in females.[4] For the rest they should especially practise humility, the great Christian virtue, which was not understood by heathen philosophers and little valued by Protestants, be regular in their devotions, and remember that all their actions and thoughts are known above.

[1] p. 25.

[2] See Appendix I for the Duchess of York's paper, and *State Tracts* (London: 1693), part ii. 273, for the papers of Charles II, published by royal command in 1686.

[3] pp. 16, 120–1. [4] p. 17.

The remaining memoranda are too diverse and fragmentary to be described precisely, but a few items may be noticed. James mentions that it was at the abbey of La Trappe that his heart was first touched by the divine goodness, and that he retired thither for three or four days at least once a year since he returned from Ireland. Although these retreats gave him a truer appreciation of the vanity of all worldly greatness,[1] yet he believed he could work out his salvation without formally joining any religous order.[2] In several places he tries to prove that good Christians, though content to live, ought to desire to die, and thus be removed from temptation.[3] He prays that William of Orange may speedily repent his past life and become a true convert,[4] which is a curious commentary on his dubious attitude towards the many plots to assassinate his successful rival. He warns his natural son, the Duke of Berwick, to avoid the pleasures and vanities of society, and to reflect that as a soldier he is constantly exposed to sudden death, which, if he is unprepared, may entail an eternity of torments.

Finally, attention is drawn to what is apparently a fragment of a draft of a letter to his daughter, the Princess Anne.[5] He writes that he is inspired by so great anxiety for her salvation, that he will do his

[1] p. 68. [2] p. 111. [3] pp. 85 *seq.*, 92–3, 96–9.
[4] p. 128. [5] p. 166.

part to secure it. He tells her that he does rely upon the assurances she has given him both under her own hand and through some of her friends, that she will endeavour to repair the past faults she has committed against himself, scarcely to be forgiven by so kind a father who never deserved such treatment. Unfortunately the fragment ends abruptly, but would seem to indicate that James had received more definite promises from his daughter than are contained in the only letter she is known to have written to him after the Revolution.[1]

These devotional papers have been printed, page by page, exactly as they were written. No attempt has been made to correct the spelling, punctuation, use of capitals or the duplication of words, or to expand the contractions, of the original manuscript. The many errors of composition, which become more numerous towards the end, are probably a true reflection of the confused mentality of the writer in his

[1] 1 December 1691. Clarke, ii. 477–8. In a letter Mary of Modena wrote to the Princess Anne, 16/27 September 1701, to announce the death of James II, the following sentences occur: 'Some few days before his death, he bid me find meanes to let you know that he forgaue you all that's past from the bottom of his heart, *and pray'd to God to do so too, that he gaue you his last blessing and pray'd to God to convert your heart* and confirm you in the resolution of repaireing to his Son the wrongs done to himself'. Clarke, ii. 602. The portion in italics was interlined by the titular James III, the son in question.

later years, and thus have a definite historical significance. One feature of the manuscript, however, cannot be reproduced. James wrote his memoranda at different times on loose sheets of various sizes,[1] which were numbered and bound up in one volume some time before the last section of his *Life* was written, probably at the direction of James III. In view of this, I have not tried to rearrange these papers, though it will be obvious that they were not bound in the order in which they were written.

I thank Sir Charles Firth for his kindness in discussing with me the form of this Introduction, and for suggesting some additions. The nature of my obligations to Dr. R. I. Best is explained in Appendix II.

GODFREY DAVIES.

[1] Cf. Appendix II.

B. T. Balfour Rome 1842
from le Marquis Malatesta

The Original Manuscripts or Papers of Deuotion of his Late Ma^{ty} of blessed memory James the 2^{d} King of G. Britain.

The Marquis Malatesta from whom I bought this and the 3 pictures of the 1st and 2nd Pretender and Cardinal York and the seal and whip of James 2d was son nephew of the friend and exor of Cardinal York and sold me these at his room in the Capitol.

The Marquis Malatesta inherited this from his Uncle the particular friend and residuary Legatee of the old Cardinal York.

The workes of the Lord are maruilous, and his ways past finding out, and his mercy is great to those that he lous, and that turne at last to him, and are sinsible of the sins of their youth and their past errors and misdeeds; t'was the deuine Prouidence that droue me early out of my natiue county, and obliged me for self preseruation, to saue myself from the hands of my enemys, and seek for shelter in foraine *countrys*, partes[1] and t'was the same prouidence, ordred it so, that I past most of the twelue years I was abrord in Catholike Kingdomes, by w^ch^ means, I came to know what their religion was, w^ch^ in all liklyhood I neuer had been so happy as to haue done, had not that dismal reuolution happned, for had I remained in quiat at home, in all apearence, it would haue been impossible for me, (considering the care was taken to breed me up with a prejudice to Catholike Religion) euer to have known the true maxims of it, and concequently

[1] James escaped from England in April 1648, and remained in exile on the Continent until 1660.

continud in the errors I had been bred up in, w^ch^ nothing but tyme and the grace of God could haue effected in me, espesially considering how little aplication yonge men of the age I was then of, haue to any thing that is good or of that kind, being for the most part led away by the heat of their temper, and ill example, not withstanding all w^ch^ the deuine prouidence ordred it so, that I began to be sensible, *by experiance*, that I had had wrong notions giuen me of the Ca: Rel:, and that they were not guilty of seueral things they were falsly taxed with, so that by degrees I was conuinced, that the Prot: had wrongfully seperated themselus and were fallen of from the true Church. I shall not here enlarge, nor expose to the world, all the reasons w^ch^ preuailed with me, to become a Roman Catholike and to joyne in comunion with them it not being necessary there hauing been so many good books, and conuincing ons written, on that subject, if people would lett true Christian

reason preuaile, and not be deterd from it, by wordly interest, a lose life, and seldome, or neuer thinking of death, and preparing for it, and what will become of us afther our death ;, my cheef designe of writing this paper is to giue some aduice to new conuerts, and to such whose harts are touched, and haue inclinations to find out the truth, and when they haue found it, to behaue themselus as becoms true conuerts, w^{ch} is to liue up to the height of Christianity, or at least to do their parts to endeauor it, and tho I acknowlidg to my owne shame, I did not do it, so sone as I was throwly conuince of the truth of the Religion I now proffesse, I am desirous others should not follow my ill example, but do their parts to take warning from me, and not expose themselus to those dangerous cources I embarked my self in, by degrees as I at first did by presuming to much on my owne strength,

and so very foolishly and indiscretly exposed my self to sine, w^ch^ had already gott the better of me, and to w^ch^ I had but to much inclination, and indeed were my predominant sin, but such is our weaknesse when we trust to our selus, that tis no wonder if we fall, of w^ch^ there has been but to many sad examples, for we haue no good in us of our selus, and must rely entirly on the grace of God, to preseru us from runing headlong into all sorts of ill, and tis but with great reason, we aught to aprehend that the deuine goodnesse will withdraw his grace from us, if we presume to much of our owne strength, and thinke we can do any thing that is good of our selus, therefore we are bound to keep a strict watch ouer our selus, and remember the parabol, of the Publican and the Pharace, humility is the great Christian vertu, w^ch^ was not understood by the Heathen Philosophers, little taught or minded by the Protestants and as little practiced by ill Catholiks, as by either of the former; what I haue mentioned

mentioned already concerning my self is to serue as a warning to new conuerts, that they may auoyd exposing themselus as I did, lett them reflect on the great goodnesse of God who without any merit of their owne, has called them out of darknesse, into his marvilous light, and lett them see the dangerous condition they were in, what sence of gratitude aught one to haue for so great a mercy, ons whole life is not sufficint, to acknowledg it, by endeauoring to liue up to true Christian perfection, tis what is expected from a new conuert, for generally peoples eis are more fit to obserue such more than others, espesially such whose communion you haue quited, as well as lewd liuers, and athistical persons, who are all glad to lay hold on, and publish, the least slip any conuert has made, so that there lys a greater obligation, if possible, for such to liue with greater care and circomspection than those who haue been breed and borne Catholiks

and tho I lesse then any other can say I haue liued up to what I proffesed since I was reconciled yett I do auer as a great truth and of my owne knowledg, that I neuer knew a true conuert, that did not visibly mend his way of liuing, for such as were only tyme seruers, as N. and N.[1] can not be called so, and of the other hand, I am as positiue, thet such as had been breed up Catholiks, and turned Protestants,[2] were so far from liuing better than formerly, that they generally led a lewder life then formerly and many of them turned downe right Athist, of w^ch^ I could giue many instances, of people of quality, of my acquaintance, as well as of Preist monks and friars, of whom I haue had an accounts not only from Catholiks, but euen from Protestants, and some of them Ministers of their church, one of w^ch^ of the french church in the Sauoy, who had been seuerly used by his ordinary, the Bis: of London, Compton, for hauing

[1] Probably these letters do not stand for any individuals whose names begin with 'N'. The most famous of the converts to Roman Catholicism in James's reign who afterwards again professed Anglicanism, were Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, and John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave (later created first Marquis of Normanby and then Duke of Buckingham). Sunderland's apostasy is fully described by Macaulay (*History of England*, chs. vi, viii). Cunningham (*The History of Great Britain*, p. 117) states that Mulgrave 'returned to the religion of his country, with the same indifference with which, in the former reign, he had left it'.

[2] Probably James had in mind Charles Talbot, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Shrewsbury and Richard Lumley, Viscount Lumley (afterwards Earl of Scarbrough), both of whom changed their religion, and became Anglicans.

refused some assistance of mony, to one who falsly called himself Lusancy,[1] who had been proued to be a great cheet, and to justily him self, for not beleuing such kind of cattle, gaue in a list of neare thirty, that had quited their Religion, of the three sorts aboue mentioned, that had abused of their Charity, all French and liued, most scandalous liues after their coming ouer, a copy of w^{ch} list I saw my self, and had it in my owne keeping, some tyme; on the other hand I could giue very many instances of people of quality priuat gentlemen and others of our Persuasion that haue liued very exemplory liues, without quiting the world, besids such as haue taken holy orders, and so dedicated them selus more imediatly to God Almightys seruice, and to mortification, for the errors of their past lius, and now I must exort and aduise all conuerts to make the right use of the great grace God has been pleased to shower downe on them, out of his infinit

[1] Luzancy, said to be the son of a French actress called Beauchasteau[1] and described in an official proclamation as '*alias* Chastelet', declared in 1675 that after he had preached a sermon at the French Church in the Savoy, in which he explained his reasons for leaving the Roman Catholic Church and becoming an Anglican, he was assailed in his lodgings by a French Jesuit, named St. Germain, and others who compelled him to sign a retraction of what he had preached and published. He was taken under the royal protection and became a minor Protestant hero, but probably he was simply an imposter.[2]

[1] Campana de Cavelli, I. 161.

[2] Kennet, *Complete History of England*, 2nd ed. 1719 III. 337, where mention is made of his recantation sermon; *Life of James II*, I. 533; Martin Haile, *Queen Mary of Modena*, 1905, pp. 56–7.

mercy, by bringing them in to his true church, and endeauor as much as in them lys to imitat the primitiue Christians, to do w^ch^, they must tak pains to know all the dutys of a true Christian, and to practice them, and to study to know ons self and to consider that the merciful God, that has done so much for us, by opning your eis and inuiting to come into his Church, expects more at our hands, then from others, to whom he has not been so bounty full, and, when once you are conuinced of the truth of our holy Religion, do not defer your proffesin it, beware of the decet and danger of delay, I my self haue knowne terrible judgments of God on some fainted harted persons, that delayed their reconciliation out of worldly considerations, two of my particular acquaintance, one a person of great quality,[1] and the other that had considerable employment in the court,[2] both were carryd off without being reconciled, by sudden death, the last of the two had sent in the afternone for a Preist to come for that purpous to him the next

[1] Possibly George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, whom James seems to have regarded as a concealed papist, probably without justification. *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, ed. 1875, p. 373.

[2] The obvious person would be Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington, who concealed his Roman Catholicism until the day of his death, but who is said to have received absolution before he died, *Autobiography of Sir John Bramston*, p. 204.

next morning, but that very euening being sitting in his chamber with an old freind of his, was struck with a fitt of an apoplexy, and so died miserably with out speaking one worde, another gentleman of repute in his country, some years since, that was so conuinced of the truth of our religion, that he lett his sons be breed up Catholiks, one of w^ch^ receued when of age for it, holy orders, who with another Preist, he had constantly in his house, that as he thought, he might be sure to haue one of them with him, to reconcile him so sone as he should fall ill, of any distemper, defering it for worldly considerations, but such was the will of God, that this unfortuneat man, was surprised, when he least thought ont, and one night was taken very ill, and imediatly called for one of his Preists, but so it happned that the one of them was gone out to a neighbour the day before, and, not returned, and tho the seruants knocked at the others doore, that

was actualy at home, in bed and asleep, and to such a degree, that not withstanding they knocked so very violantly at his Chamber door, that they had almost broke it open, he neuer wakend, so that they judged he also had been out from home, as well as the other preist, and so before morning the poor gentleman died, without being reconciled, not withstanding all his precaution this relation I had from seuerall persons of quality, that knew him, and at last from his owne grandchild, I forgott to mention that the next morning, that in the morning the preist that was at home, was surprised, when he came out of his chamber, to heare the master of the house was dead, and protested he neuer heard the noise they made at his doore; but to leaue this digression, and perswing giuing aduice to new conuerts, there is nothing of greater concerne to their well being, then, to make a good choise of their ghostly father, and to be well satisfyd of the ability of their director, he should

be lerned, of sound doctrin, and of an examplary life I supose you know what St. Fran: de Sales says on this subject, for how can one hope to gett well to our journeys end without a good guide, tis an unpardonable negligence not to endeauor to gett a good one, and of dangerous concequence to fall into ill hands, be not shy of discoursing with him at other tyms then in the confessional, tis as absolutly necessary for him to know the state of your soul as for a Phesition to be rightly informed of the state of your body, you aught to be very carfull of what company you keep, and to auoyd as much as possible to heard with such as are of lose lius and conuersation, and neuer to make up a freindship with such as talke prophainly or athisticaly, such as frequent them run great hazard of being misled, I haue known it the ruine of some, remember what the Roy: Prophet say, with the holy you shall be holy, with the cleane, thou shall be cleane, and with the froward thou shallt learne frowardnesse. there is an old Italian prouerb to the same purpose w^{ch} says, lett me know what company a man keeps, and I'le tell you what he dos, so that one cannot be to carfull of what company one frequents and tis not only our duty to auoyd doing ill,

but to keep out of harms way, and this is not only only to be practiced by new conuerts as to point of religion, but by all such Catholiks as haue liued losely and that by spesial grace of God, are sensible of their past folly, and resolue to liue for the futur, as becoms true Christians, for both can neuer be sensible enough of what the deuine goodnesse has inspired them to know, and practice the truth, and so aught to walke with greater circomspection for the tyme to come that they may not deserue to haue that grace taken from them, that was intended for their sanctification, and giuen to others that will make better use ont, lett one but consider how greeuosly one has offended so good and gratious a God, if it were but by one mortal sin and what can we say for hauing liued so long in a constant cours of sin and scandal, how carefull aught one to be for the tyme to come, not to offend our maker and redemer, but to loue him abou all things, w^{ch} we are bound

bound to do out of gratitude, as well as other reasons and to be very nice as to what concerns our way of of liuing that we may not be able to reproche our selus for faling in the duty of a good Christian for tho tis very hard to attaine to such a degree of perfection, we all are obliged to endeauor it, therefore we must neglect nothing to compas it, and make good use of our tyme not knowing how soine we may be called to apeare before the great tribunal of God, to giue an account of all our action and receaue our last sentance w^ch^ must be terrible to those dy not truly penetrated with the loue with the loue of God, for tis not those who cry Lord Lord shall I enter in to the Kingdom of heauen, but those that do the will of the father, and that follow the steps of our B. Sauior, and that take up his crosse and follow him with cherfullnesse and submission, without murmuring or repining at any thing w^ch^ may seame hard to us, being sure that all is for our Eternal good, if we make the right use of them, do not neglect

doing our duty in things that may seame to us of little or no concequence, if we do, by degrees, we shall be apt to relax and omitt performing things of greater concequence, we must not only carfull auoye mortal sins but venial ons also, and the better to do it, lett us remember we are allways in the presence of God, he dos not only see all we do, but knows our very thoughts, did we but reflect on this, t'woud make us liue like good Christians, and make it the easier to liue up to it, then would it not seeme to us hard to do our endeauors, to imitat our B: Sa: and follow his steps and beare all things with pacience and resignation, and not be carryed away by thoughts and pleasurs of this world, but cheefy mind our great concerne, w^{ch} dos not at all hinder us from the duty we owe to our King, our country our familys or orselus, for when when we haue masterd the world, the flesh and the Diuele, we haue more tyme to aply our selus to all our other dutys, both to God, and to all those we are bound to serue or assist, tis an incombant duty upon us,

for we must not only feare God an honnor the King, but prouide for our family, that we may not be worse then infidels, for he that gius himself up, or letts him self go to his pleasurs of any kind to ambition, pride or auarice can neither be a good Christian, a good Subject, a good freind, nor be thorowly relyed on by any, lett his natural parts be neuer so good, this is a known truth, we find it by experiance euery day, and we see the losse liuers themselus owne it themselus by chusing and making use of good liuers in their affairs of greatest concequence; the strictor people liue the more they are esteemed, by good men also, and as I haue already sayed new conuerts are bound to be more regular and euen to depriue themselus from some things w^{ch} are not ill in themselus, for mortification, euen hunting, and other manlyke exercises, should be used with moderation, and with as little expence as may be, and the quality of the person requires, one must be carefull not to lose masse any day for those recreation, nor indeed use any of them on days of obligation, they being more

particularly sett apart by the Church to be keept holy, it being a great shame to see that command so little obserued, and that the generallity of the world thinks tis enough to heare masse and follow their ordinary diuertions as on other days, and tis a duble scandal to see the theaters and other dangerous diuertions, so frequented on those days, when we haue all the rest of the weeke to our selus to please our selus in innocent recreations, tis not for me to take upon me to say that the seeing the diuerticements of the theater as they are now used are unlawfull, and other publike assemblys are so also, since they are permitted and practiced in most Kingdoms and States, but this I am sure on that they are very dangerous to frequent, and haue been the ruine of to may, and therfore aught to be auoyde, you cannot be ignorant what both the Eng: and Fren: clergy say and haue writen on that subject, as well as most of the learned regulars so that those who designe to take up the crosse and follow our B: Sa: and mortyfy themselus, will auoide such diuertions, that may proue so fatal, to us, when we may spend our pritiou tyme so much

so much better, there is another thing I must recomend to you, that such of you as haue yonge persons under your charge, should not lett them reade Romances, more espesialy the women kind, at best tis but losse of tyme, and is apt to put foolish and rediculus thoughts in to their heads, espesially the femals, history is usefull, and as diuerting, and one should early instill into them the making good use of their tyme, and aboue all things auoyd laisinesse; all of us are bound to pratice the same, and to look on no fault as a little as to our duty to God, and would it not be a shame to be ouercome by little faults, and neglects, when one has mastered great ons, tis not enough to auoyd ill, but to do good as far as in our power, and to leaue nothing undon to attaine to some degree of perfection, lett not the raillerys of the world, or the caractors they usualy giue to those who turne to God afright you, or in the least hinder you from from persuing your point, and be not ashamed of frequenting the churches during the three last days of the carneual, and be not carryed

away by the ill example of those, who make so bad use of a coustume w^ch^ has by degrees crept in among us directly against the intention of the Church and the practice of the primitiue Christians, w^ch^ is plaine by the prayrs and deuotions ordred by the Church, to endeauor in some measur to attone for for the disorders of those three days, and the whole office of the Church w^ch^ begins on Septuagisima Sonday to prepare us for the better obseruation of the following Lent; read what is sayd on that subject, in the seconde tome, of l'année Chritieene,[1] just before the masse of that day.

[1] Jean Croiset: *L'Année chrétienne ou Exercises de piété pour tous les jours.*

great care aught to be taken to instruct new Protestant conuerts, tis not enough to reconcile them, but to make them sensible what are the dutys of a Christian hauing neuer been taught them, for generally speaking, they are breed up to haue an auertion for our Reli: and to look on us as Idolater and other stuf as fals as that, and haue such argument giuen them against trnssubstation, as makes many amongst them run in to Soscinianisme, or at least not to mind any thing but their ease and self preseruation, leauing them absolutly ignorand of true Christian morality, so that it is of the last necessity that they should be thorowoly instructed, and pains taken with them, and that they should be recomended to some able confessor, if, they be yonge and unlerned they aught to be sent to some place where might leare what is their

duty with more ease, if more aduanced in years no tyme should be lost in it, and recommending good books and reading to them, I do not know what other find as to them selus, but owne that I want still instruction and find I haue need of it, and am still to learne, and am sensible euery day by reading good books and discoursing with knowing and able men and great deuins that I am yett to know as well as practice all that belongs to a perfect Christian, and tho it is hard to be one we are all obliged to endeauor it, and t'will be our faults if we be not, for such is the goodnesse of our Great and merciful God that he neuer failes those that loue him and apply them selus to him, and endeauor to worke out their saluation, with feare and trembling and besids what I haue found myself I haue heard may good and holy men say, one ought to aduance every day in ons Christian duty

for otherways one is apt to lose ground and be carryd away by the strong curran of the world so as neuer to gaine ons port, all w^ch^ being well considred how very nesesary is it, for such as are newly reconciled to be well instructed and taught what is their duty, the sauing of a man soule being of that concequence, so that tis not enough to conuince Protestant or ill liuing Catholiks but see they are so fully instructed as by the grace of God not to faile in the practical part, w^ch^ when they haue not tyme to do them selus are obliged to put them into such hands as may performe so good and pious a worke, for very many may be fitt to instruct as to the way of liuing, that haue not learning sufficient nor the gift of controuercy, and to be as it were but remembrancers to them, and to put them in mind of the essentials of their Christian duty, and that it behous new conuerts to be more cautious then others, since those from whom they haue departed will lay hold of and sencure them for

for the least slip they make, and loade our Conffessors as well as our religion, as if both gaue us to great a latitude, prouided they owned themselus to be of our Churche

you nor nobody aught to wonder that there are such alterations made in the Ch: of Eng: as establicked by Law, euer day, since those who come after the first reformers, haue as much authority to reforme againe as those who began, nay much more, for if some few members of the Ch: of Eng: when united to the Cath: and Apos: Ch: took upon them to fall off and seperat them selus from the body of the uniuersal Ch: how can those of the present Ch: of Eng: as they call themselus, find fault with such of their body, or others, who would reforme upon them, till they began the Schisme all was quiat as to Religion in our unfortunat country but since all the world sees what disorders it has caused and how our Ilands have been ouer run with diuersites of sects in the Ch: and with ruine and Rebellion in the State, when people sett ill out at first and mistake there way, tis no wonder if they

Shisme

go still more and more astray, and if there be not a good foundation lay at first to a hous tis not strange if it falls or dos not stand long, and tis no maruil if in Eng: so many run into Sosinianisme and Athisme, when the cheef arguments used against us to hinder those of their communion, to come to us, espesially against transubstantation, and submittion to the Cath: Ch: are against the very fundamentals of Christianity, and are as being of equaly force against the trinity and incarnation as well as against the real presence, by beleuing nothing that dos not agree with our sences, King Charles the 2. papers,[1] w^ch^ I gaue and desired you to read, sufficiantly explaine to you that there can be but one Cath: and Apos: Ch: and w^ch^ it is, the late Dutchesse in hers,[2] letts you see that those who made and carryed on the Pre: Ref: in Ed: 6. tyme, had no

[1] These two papers, said to be written by Charles II, were published in 1686 by James II. They are reprinted in *State Tracts*, 1693, pt. ii, 273–4.

[2] See Appendix I.

resemblance to those who in the first Coun: at Jerusalem, used the Phrase, mentiond in the Acts of the Apos: of it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us and that they were not endeued with that Deuine Spirit, read againe and consider well those papers, pray ernestly to God Almight to giue you his holy spirit, and humility and then lett Christian good sence take place, consider and you will find that all the Schismes and heriscy haue sprung and grown up from Pride, couetiousnesse and want of humility, and losenesse of life, in the first beginners of them, this obseruation has been made by larned men, for those of laytor tymes euery body knows the motiues and causes that moued Luther to preach up and broach his new doctrine and seperat him self from the Ch: and how it was propagated and settled in Germany,

as for Caluin the preface to Hookers Ec: Pol:[1] and Dr. Heeling Hist: of Pres:[2] (both w^ch^ I suppose you may haue read) gius a true account of the rise and progresse of his dangerous principles both in church and State, of w^ch^ you haue had your share of the ill effects ont, what Publike ruine bloud shed, and losse of souls has these two men and their followers caused, particularly in most of the Northern parts of Christendome and indeed where so euer his pernitious doctrin has crept in, and you of the Ch: of Eng: cannot wonder, or find strange, if you haue (at your hauing) been ouer run, by an inundation of new opinions, since you your selus cut the banks of infalibility and lett in those waters w^ch^ at last must drowne you, unlesse you returne and saue your selus on the Rock of infalibility, can you excuse your selus from pride (I meane those of your Ch:) for els they could not haue gone about to seperat themselus for that Cath: Ch: I meane your Clergey, (for as for the then

[1] Richard Hooker's *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie.*

[2] Peter Heylyn's *Aerius redivivus: or, the History of the Presbyterians . . . from 1536 to . . . 1647.* Fol. Oxford. 1670.

then Protector [1], the nobility and leding men of the Layity, priuat interest, Nouelty and other reasons preuailed with them), for what els could haue wrought on them to haue quited their Mother Ch: but the to good opinion of their owne under standing, and thinking themselus wiser then all the Generall Councels and learned men that had been before their tyms, I could say if I had more tyme much upon this subject, w^{ch} in effect would be but a paraphrase or enlarging on the late Kings papers, consider and waygh them well and you must owne our Church to be the one holy Catholik and Apostolik Church or shake and undermine the very fundamentals of Christianity

[1] John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, was Protector in 1552, when the use of the Second Book of Common Prayer was enforced.

Aug: 1694

Nothing dos amuse and astonish me so much as to see so many witty and ingenious men, of most proffesions, so industrious and diligent in persuing their worldy and temporal aduantage and so negligent and remiss in what concerns their eternal good, when euery day we see that all we grasp at is but vanity and vexation of spirit, and that nothing but the loue of God can fill and satisfy the hart of man, and what madnesse is it to fix ons loue on any other object, for honors, riches, vouluptious pleasurs neuer satisfy, and besides we are neuer sure to enjoy them one moment, or if we do for some days or some years, we are neuer twise fower and twenty hours at ease or quiat, being either not entirely content with what we haue, or desiring more, or fearing to lose what we haue, I apeale to the Voluptious man if euer he was satisfide or thorowly pleased, to the ambitious man if euer he thought he had honors or authority enough, how uneasi how unquiat

when crost or disapointed in any of his projects, or that the world dos not pay him that respect he thinks due to him, was euer a couetus man satisfyd with what he had, what sordid thing will he leaue undon to encrese his wealth, neuer to enjoy it, and yett knows he cannot cannot carry it with him into the other world, the very heathens them selus such as were men of good sence, and moral men dispised and laught at all these follys, that had no other light then that of reason, and what would contribut most to make men distinguis themselus from brute beasts, and to liue in common societe togather, aught not Christians to endeauor to out do these moral men, is there any excuse for us if we do not hartily endeauor to liue up to the perfection of our Religion, tis not what is impossible,

since we see euery day persons of all qualitys all sexes all proffesions, liue very exemplarly, tis nothing but want of consideration hinders us from attaining that degree of perfection, for would we but consider, we should soine with joy be sensible of what our blessed Sauior says, that his burthen is easy and his yoke is light, and find that what he commands us to do in this world, to be partakers of his Glory for an Eternity, is but what is most for our ease quiat and aduantage euen whilst we liue in it, lett us but reflect a little and we shall find it to be so, what contributs more to a long life then to liue temperatly and to use no excesse of any kind, what more to the preseruation of the fortune w^{ch} God has giuen us then that also what can gaine and preserue to us in the world a good reputation the esteame of all good men but to be charitable, humble, meeke, pacient just in our dealings a man of ons worde, and

to remember, do as you would be done to, for this is the law and the prophets, tell me thou inconsiderat man, in what the Law of God is any way uneasi or burdensome to one who professes Christianity, nay euen morality, must not he who is a good Christian be easi to himself, a good Subject, a good parent, a good Sonne a good Wife, a Good Husband, indeed a good euery thing, has not he more tyme to himself to look after his temporal concerns of what quality or profession so euer be, then the others I have named, it being an incumbent duty upon one to be diligent in looking after our temporal concerns, as well as of those that regard or Eternal,

the longer one lius in this troubesome world, the more any considring and reasonable Christian is or aught to be conuinced that all in it is but vanity and vexation of sperit, and that none but such as are sensible, of that great truth, and do their utmost, in the station they are in, to liue up to that Christian perfection is required of us, can be at ease and quiat in it, lett us but seriously reflect of what coms to our knowledg in this wicked world euery day, and we must be very sensible conuinced, of the folly of relying on it; lett us but look back and consider how that from the very beginning of it, the great God that made it, punished those that offended him; you know what Adam, only for one fault and all his posterity after him, suffered, for it, that for many and crying sins he he reduced the world againe to eight persons, whom he saued in the Arke, after w^ch^ on can not but remember with

horror, the punishment he the great God inflicted on Sodome and Gomora for their abominable and unnatural doings, lett us then consider what beffell that stif necked and murmering generation of the Jews, who for all that they were a chosen people, when the rest of the world were left in a miserable estat of ignorance and Idolatry and that they so many miracles had been done for them by the hand of Moses and Aron, to free them from the Egiptian bondage, yett they murmurd against those two great men, and as the Royal Prophet says they turned back and tempted God and moued the holy one in Iserail, for w^{ch} and their other misdeed God punished them very seuerly and made them wander up and down in the desert, till that whole generation of murmerors, from twenty yeares and upwards were dead and destroy, none suruiuing of them, but Josuah and Caleb, who entred

into the land of promesse, do not only reflect on this, but remember, that not with standing that God had performed his part, and driuen out the Heathen before them, and settled them in a land flowing with milke and honny, in persuance of his promisse made to Abraham and their forfathers, that no sonner were they settled their, but that they forgatt not only what had been done for them but forgott the dismal threts had been made to them in case they did not obserue the Law, w^ch^ they not duing, performing God permitted them to be masterd by their enemys, on euery side in the tyme of the Judges, until the cryed to the Lord in their trouble, and then he deliured them out of their distresse and raised Dauid from the Sheepfold, to deliured them not only out of the hands of all their enemys, but to enjoy that peace

and quiat as well as plenty, w^ch^ the had all the days of Solomon, after w^ch^ they did not only rebel against their King but against God him self, letting themselus be carryed away by reason of State, to their ancient sin of Idolatry, for w^ch^ the ten tribus were seuerly punished, w^ch^ had been fortold them by Moises, more particularly in the book of Duterenomy, and by other Prophets after him, if they did euel in the sight of the Lord, and the two remaining Tribus with their with their King Princes and people were led into captiuity, their cheef towne and Temple burnt and destroyd, and the whole country layd wast by Nabucadonosor, whom God Almighty raised up to be an instrument of his wroth against them, for hauing forgott the Lord God and more particularly for hauing followed the sins of Jeroboan the son of Nephat, that to use the Scripur fraise made Iseral

Iseral to sin, and tho it pleased God Almight after a seuer Captiuity to moue the hart of Cyrus to send them back to their owne country and to permitt them to rebuild the Temple, and for all that after that they stood corrected of that great sin of Idolatry, yett for their offending him by other crimes, and last of all for their rejectin and crucifing his only Son, he sturd up the Roman against them, who finaly distroyd againe their new Temple, with Jerusalem and the whole county, and so dispersed and transplanted in to forrain parts, those few who were left aliue I calle them so, in comparison of their whole nation, that their number now, are very inconsiderable, and liue like vagabonds ouer the face of the Earth.

If God then punished that nation to sucha degree, what aught not we Christians to expect; if we follow the example of that murmering and stif necked generation

after all that God has done for us, we cry out on the Jews for their Idolatry, stuberness insinsibility and want of faith, ets; and as our blessed Sauior sayd unto the Jews, as to Sodome, and Gomora so we may say the same of ill Christians, that at the day of Judgment, it will be more tolarable for the forme, then for them, is it not a kind of Idolatry, or at least as great a fault, for Christians to giue themselves up to Auarice, reuenge, ambition, lust, or to make a God of ons belly, as St. Paul says, thes are our Idoles, w^ch^ we worship with the same fals zeale, the Jews did those Gods of stocks and stones, that they had been inticed to follow, by theer neighborowing nations, and we may well say with Elia the Prophet, why halt you so long bettwene two opinions, for either the Lord is God, or Baal is God, and the same tis sayd in the Gospel, you cannot serue God and Mammon, for if you loue the one you must hath the other, w^ch^ is but a natural concequence, for who so euer has so little of Christianity, as to lett him self go to any

of those passions, and makes an Idole of them, must hate all things and all those that would endeauor to reclame him from those follys, till by the grace of God his reason gett the better of them, are not the generallity of Christians as guilty, nay more guilty, of the rest of those crime for w^{ch} they suffred, and may not we we expect the heauy hand of God on us, as well as they, except we repent, in the old Testament there are many examples of the Jews repenting, and turning to God, you read there likwise of the repentance of the Niniuits, I have not seen such publike acts, truly performed by Christians, for tho our Holy mother the Church dos prescribe fasting prayre and mortification in Lent ets, how ill and and undecently are they put in practice by the generallity, as well as the Jubiles that are granted by the Popes, upon any publike calamity, that insteed of apeasing the deuine wrath it encresses the heape of our transgressions, tis not that there are not great numbers

of good people both men and women, who have in a more particular manner dedicated them selus to the seruice of God, and, some others of the layite of both sexes, how obserue those tymes as becoms them, tis but to much known to the world what lettle sence and consideration the far greatest part of Christian, shew, or realy haue, of those holy tyms, how few did leaue of their scandalous way of liuing, for all that the greatest part of Europ was afflicted with war pestilence and famin, were the publike Theaters, and gaming houses lesse frequented, was there any leauing off, of those dangerous visits, and conuersation, so fatal to persons of both sexes, was there any reforme in the way of liuing, either equipage dressing, or any marke of sence of the heauy hand of God, then actualy upon them, were not the Bishops in many places so sensible of this insensibility, that they

then thought it best to apoint the ganing of the Jubile in the holy weeke or in Ester week, that the ill obseruance of it, w^ch^ they feare might happen, should be lesse notorious, and proue a reproche to Christianity, can we reflect on all these things, and not feare, and that with but to much reason, that as seuer judgment will fall on us as did as the Jews, for our insensibility, and unbeleef; did these who haue the name of Christians, and shew but to visibly, they are not so by their workes, realy beleue there were a God, a Christ, a hell, they could neuer be so depraued of common sence as to liue as they do, in defiance of God.

lett then those that beleue these great truths reflect seriously on them and consider with what care and sircomspection they aught to gouerne them selus, for tis not enough to preserue ons self from great and scandalous sins, but to be so watchfull of all ons actions

as not to endulge ons self or haue any affection euen as to venial sins, for if one be not as carfful to auoyd them as well as mortal ons and take paens to preserue ons self from them, they will by degrees led one in to greater, if not at least into that luke warmesse and negligence, of doing ons duty of a good Christian, w^ch^ has been so fatal to very many, and so exploded in the Apocalips, by what is sayd of the Bis. of Laodiea; a Christiens life, therfore aught to be such, that as much as posible, he might not neglect the doing his duty, in performing all things necessary to saluation, for tis not enough to practice some of them, but all, and to that end, tis requisit to take the means of being fully informed what they are, w^ch^ is but to much neglected, by most people, tho it be of the last concerne, and indeed, the only necessary, as our blessed Lord, sayd to St. Martha of her sister, St. Marie Magdalen; did those who liue in the world reflect on this great truth

they would sone their way of liuing, and be neuer at quiat till they were fully instructed, and knew what their duty was to God, and shew them selus to be true Christians; is the endeauoring to secure ons self of a happy Eternity, the only thing to be neglected, dos not that deserue to take as much paens to attaine, as an earthly establishment, w^{ch} we are not sure to enjoy one moment, do not all persons, of all ranks, of all professions, endeauor to make themselus master of that trade, that calling, they apply to, dos it not require years as well as great aplication, and labour, to attaine to any manner of perfection in them and can any man of common sence thinke that the arte of of liuing a Christian life, can be learnt in a day, and that without knowing what is their duty they can performe it, lett all Christians reflect seriously on these truths, and lett Confessors consider also, the obligation they ly under of informing their

penetiants what tis their duty, as well as giuing them absolution, both the one and the other must answer at their last day, for their negligence in so important a concerne; at w^ch^ one cannot reflect, without amazement; for the reasons already giuen; tis want of reflection and consideration, that loses most of man kind, for want of w^ch^, so many by degrees, run head long into eternal damnation, they not being sensible of the faults they comitt; how ordinary a thing it is to detract, and speake ill of our neighbour, and how little do they remember that saying of our blessed Sauior, do as you would be done to, for that is the law and the Prophets, do not we take it ill, and, with great reason when things of that natur are done to us or sayd of us, Christian charity dos not only require of us, not only to auoyd doing ill, but to seek peace and procure it, to hid and couer one anothers fault, and not to publish,

publish them, to loue our enemys, to do good to them that hate us, and dispitfully use us, as much care aught to be taken to gouerne ons tong, as well as ons eis, or thoughts, and therefore tis very necessary to be well informed of the duty of a good Christian as to that point and to reflect seriously on it, w^{ch} so few do, and hardly look on it as a fault, to say little malitious things, as they realy thinke, or pretend to do, that seuerall way may proue very prejuditial, nay some tyms fatal, to many, for we are obliged not to say or repeat ill things of our neighbour, that we heare of others, but if we knew them to be true of our owne knowledg we committ a fault to Christian charity to speake of them, except it be to hinder a mischeef to the publik or to any priuat person, and then to do it with that caution as that it might not expose more then is absolutly requisit the persons concerned, what quiat would it creat in courts, as well as priuat familys,

how like the primatiue Christians should we apeare, who had but one mind and one will, and in all apearance we might hope, if once we had masterd our tong, we might the easier ouer come our other imperfections, for where discord reigns

the great loue that Almight God has shewn to all mankind by sending down his Sonne to redeeme us is so great a truth and so notorious to all Christians that it cannot be deny by any that are realy and truly so, and if we will but giue our selus leaue to consider, and reflect, on all we see in this world, we must be sensible, and entirly conuinced, that the same deuine goodnesse, dos continu the same loue to us, by undenyable proffs, for first his intention in bringing us into this world, is to capacitate us, to be members of his heauenly Kingdome, what care dos he take of us that attaine to mans estate, giuing us reason to judg bettwene good and euil, and if then we haue the misfortune be led away by our own depraued natur, or ill example, what pacience dos not he

use, to reclame us, how many seuerall ways dos he take to make us sensible of our misdeeds, by making it so aparent to us, that all things in this world are but Vanity and vexation of sperite and that nothing but louing him can satisfy us, and giue us quiat in this world, and makes all things conspire, to make us sensible of that great truth, lett us look on the seasons of the yeare, how they change, and for all they keep their seueral turns, yett no one of them when they returne in their cõmon course are like the other, and tho the Sun keeps his constant course, yett we are not sure whether we shall have plentiffull returne of the fruts of the earth, the deuine goodnesse ordanes it so, that we cannot but be sensible that we can not be sure of anything, but that nothing is fixt, nothing is to be relyd on, but him self, for such is the pride of man that

that he would sone forgett his creator, and flatter
him self, he could subsiste with out him, and run

Sep: 1698

I come from seing the Campe at Compiegne[1] a sight that was more worth seing, then anything of that kind of our age, neuer in our days, an army of bettwene fifty and sixty thousand men, composed of such choise men, and so well clad and so well mounted what care what pains nay what mony haue not the officers spent, to distinguish them selus their Regs. and priuat troups and companys, to gaine their King's fauor w^{ch} is very comendable in them, and what is but their duty, but at the same tyme I cannot hinder myself, from making this melancony reflection, how very few amongst this great and formidable army, thinks of their duty to the King of Kings, that dos honnor them so much, as to call him self, the Lord of Hosts, who by their almost constant way of lose liuing can with justice hardly be called or looked on as Christians, by any reasonable or thinking men, can any one say anything so fauorable of them, as to say they are so many mad men; for must not one be actualy so, that belius any thing of Christianity and that there is an Eternity of happynesse or misery, and what stronger

[1] This famous review in August and September 1698 is described by St. Simon (*Mémoires* ch. xxxix), who states that James spent three or four days at the camp.

tys of duty we haue to God Almight then to any other no ways repugnant to the obedience we owe to our lawfull superiors, or to our being good moral men, and euen liuing at ease in this world, notwithstanding all w^{ch}, so peruers is our nature, and carryed away we are, by ill example that we will hardly heare with any pacience good admonition, or giue our selus any tyme to thinke of another world, and angry with, or at least uneasy with any one who gius them good aduice, I may be pardoned saying what I do since I must one with shame and confusion that for many years was tainted with the same folly and madnesse, and now may the better be credited when I say I neuer all that tyme but found by sad experiance, I neuer was for twice fower and twenty houers togeather, at ease and quiat w^{ch} one deeues ons self to think one can enjoy in this world, where no body is secure of liuing a moment,

that the generallity of Christians are as stifed necked, and as incorrigable as the Jews nay more,

they cryed to the Lord in their trouble and he deliured them out of their distresse,

when they were afflicted by war Pestilence or famine they humbled themselus and turned to God by prayre and fasting not only some good men but the generality of the People,

the very heathens will rise in judgment against us I meane the Niniuits, and as our B. Sauier say of some of the Cittys in Judea, so may it be sayd now with to much truth in our days for had those in Tyre and Sydon been as well instructed as we are

and had had the same helps, they would soon haue repented in sack cloth and asshes, but, to the confusion of the Christians of this age be it sayd, that the sperit of insensibilitty dos posses them to a high degree, for tho all Europe has been now aboue seuen years in war, and has suffred, also the other two dismal deuine scourges of Famin and Pestilence, yett the number of those who have apeared sencible of the heauy hand of God are very few in comparison of the rest, tho offten admonished by the Pope in the jubiles he has published and other admonitions they haue had by sermons and other helps they haue had, w^{ch} haue had but little effect, haue the theaters of ill kind been lesse frequented,

1696

Sure there was neuer a more dismal prospect of affairs in Christendome then now, to see it inuolued in so almost an uniuersal war, and the Generallity so insensible of the heauy hand of God that is and has been upon them, for now these seuen years, by war pestilence and famine, we are now become more stif necked and incorrigible then the Jews, for they, when any of these visible marks of Gods heauy displeasur fell upon them cryd to the Lord, in their trouble and he deliured them out of their distresse

when I consider the corruptnesse of the age we liue in, and the little resemblance it has, to those of the primitiue Christians, I do not at all wonder, that there are so few, (espesially amongst those of the better ranke) that retaine any true sence of their Religeon, tho generally speaking amongst us Catholiks thay are educated till they are lett losse into the world, with great care and piety, where they no soner come, but are imediatly seased on by some leud companions of theirs and led away by the heat of youth, and their owne natural inclinations to all manner of ill courses, from w^{ch} rarly the free them selus til they begin to aduance in years, or that it pleases our gratiou and mersifull God, by his especial grace, to awak us out of the insensibility we are in, and to lett us be sensible of the desperat condition we are in by the striking us by some sensible marke of his displeasur what numbers of our kindred, relations and acquaintance, haue not had the same fauor shewd them, and haue been for euer lost, when once we begin to make these reflections there is some

hops of amendment, and so by degrees to arriue at that state of good life by the Grace of God as to desire and firmly resolue by the continuance of the same grace, to attaine to that estat, as to firmly resolue and desire to liue as good Christian ought to do, when once on has obtained that, then

I abhor and detest my self for hauing so offten offended so grasious and mersifull a God, and hauing liued so many yeares in almost a perpetual course of sin, not only in the days of my youth when I was carried away wth the heat of it, and ill example, but euen after when I was come to yeares of more discresion, and that thou hads been plesed to haue called me from the pit of Heresy, to haue oppend my eis to haue known and embrased thy true Religion, to haue

couered my head so offten in the day of Battle, deliured me so many tyms, from the dangers of the Sea, the noise of its waues, and the madnesse of the people, and if I had corresponded with such thy bounty hadst given me grace to endeauor to liue as became a good Christian; and do giue thee most humble and harty thanks, that thou werst pleased to haue taken from me my three Kingdoms, by w^{ch} means thou dids awake me out of the leterge of sin, in w^{ch} had I continud, I should haue been for euer lost, and out of thy goodnesse wert pleased to ban—

bannish me into a forrain Country, where I learnt to know what was the dutys, of Christianity, and endeauored to performe them, after w^{ch} such was thy goodnesse to me, after I had been some tyme in this Kingdome, and at La Trappe, to inspire me with such a portion of thy grace, as to endeauor to liue as became a good Catholike, and as thou knowest haue endeauerd to performe it, euer since,

my hauing been at that, holy place, tho not with that perfection as became me and now most humbly beg of thy deuine goodnesse, to giue me grace to performe it, for thy deare son J: C: sake, who liueth and Raig: with thee and the H.G. world with out end Amen. to repeat the seuen Penetential Psalmes one a day, 1698

I cannot but wonder at my self as well as at others that after it had pleased God to lett us attaine to the age of discretion, we should, many of us, haue liued so little like Christian, or indeed reasonable men, for can any folly haue been like ours, that after hauing been instructed and informed of the truths and maxims of Christianity should mind them so little and liue as if we did not beleue there were a heuen or a hell, euen worse then morall heathens, many of w^{ch} keept within bounds, tho they neuer heard of the Gospel, and wanted only Christian humility to make them great men, and abhord all sorts of vice and inustice, it will be more tolerable for those men at the last day then for ill liuing and luke warme Christians, dos not the world it self trust vaulu and esteeme whose liues are sutable to their Christian principals, before the lose liuers, would not any resonable men pity and bemoane the folly of such as are once come to the age of discresion and should be known and esteemed to be men

to be men of good parts and sence, should lett them selus go and follow Childrens diuertions and examples, and be led away by them, would they not they be dispised and pointed at by all resonable persons; and yett we expose our selus euery day, with justice, to the same reproches, are not all those who lett themselus be blinded and carryd away by the pomps and vanitys of this world and it faire and decitfull promises as honnors riches or voluptious pleasurs, and as much to be pited; are they not as foolish and as much to be dispised as Childrens diuertions, are not we weaker than they, they haue not reason nor discretion to judg of things, nor to distinguis bettwene good and euel, and so cannot be blamed, but we haue no excuse for our selus, since the well instructed will not consider and make use of the reason God has giuen us.

euer since it plased the deuing goodnesse, out of his mercy to touch my hart at la Trappe,[1] I haue by the same grace, endeauord to liue up to it, at first t'was partly curiosity and desire to see whether the discription I had heard, and the relations I had read, whilst I was in England of that Holy place, came up to my expectation, and the Abbott that began that reforme there, did deserue all those comendation that were giuen them, twas an old freind of myne the Mareschal de Belfond,[2] carryed me thether, for w^ch^ as long as he liued, I gaue him many thanks, and by degrees found myself emproue in my desire of liuing better, for till I had been there

[1] There are some interesting letters from Armand Jean, Abbé de la Trappe, to James II, in *Stuart Papers*, (Hist. MSS. Comm. 1902) I. The contents of this and the next pages are printed in the *Life of James II*, ii. 582–3.

[2] Bernardin Gigault, Marquis de Bellefonds, Marshal of France.

some tymes, where I made a kind of retreat for three or fower day at a tyme, w^ch^ I thank God I haue contineud to do at least once a yeare since I came from Ierland and found considerable improuements in my self, for it gaue me a truer sence of the vanity of all worldly greatnesse and y^t^ nothing was to be coueted but the Loue of God, and to endeauor to liue up to it, and to mortify ons self, by all Lawfull means and to be sensible, espesially such a miserable creture as I, that haue liued so many years in almost a perpetual cours of sin, till though out of thy infinit mercy didts call me by thy chastisments to thee; how necessary do I find it tis for me, a poore weake man, to continu visiting that Holy place, to strengthen me, w^ch^ I must owne to haue gret need,

need of euery yeare, to suport me and make me remember, I am a Christian, w^ch^ if those would do, that are so, and haue been Baptised, they could not liue as to many of them do, I can not help remember that in reading some of the Eclesiastical historis, that t'was the usual practise of those that were so to say they were so, I meane Christians and to dy as such, and so dy Martyrs, but alase how few now a days will immitat those good men, mortify themselus, or restraine themselus from the least of their unlawfull pleasurs, but giue themselus up to couetiousnesse, glotiny, sins of the flesh, and valeu themselus, for doing them,

to heare Masse not only on days of Obli: but on all other days if not hindred by some unforseen accident or ons necessasary obligation as to ons businesse of publike concerne or priuat calling to rise some what soner then ordinary if one sees one cannot haue tyme to do it otherwise,

that snce it has pleased God out of his infinit mercy towards me to haue left off liuing in a habit of mortal sin, and to haue left in me no affection to any venial sin, to resolue with the aduice of my conffesser to receue the Blessed Sacrament once in fifteene days or once a weeke or offtener by aduice of ons Conf:

to be very regular in obseruing and keeping day of fasting and abstinance as far as ons health will permitt, and not to breake them with out hauing had leaue in the due forme

to be very carfull in the freindships one makes and what company one keeps, nothing being more dangerous then ill example, so prone is our nature to follow and imitat all sorts of wickednesse, remember the prouerbe, tell me who are such a ons companions, and Ile tell you what he dos,

what tyme one has to spare from ons businesse, or calling, not to spend in Idlennesse, but in prayre, meditation

and reading of good books, not to read Romances, Heretical, prophane or lasiuious books, not to use Lawfull exercises as hunting, shotting, tennis, ets. immoderatly but only for ons recreation, health, or for sake of company.

as for Balls, Operas, plays, the best are dangerous, and not very proper, for such as haue a mind to liue well, and therfore aught to be auoyde by such, without affectation, and if by duty or freinds on be obliged at any tyme to go to any of them, to gouerne ons eis with discretion, and to lett ons thoughts be, of the vanity of them, and of mortification, remembring how many people are afflicted by imprisonment, sicknesse ets. and are at the point of Death, at that very tyme,

to giue all one can spare in charitys and pious uses, so as not to run in debt, or to hinder ons paying seruants wages, and ons necessary obligation according to the condition one is in, to be as good a husband as one can in all ons expences, with an ei not to lay up for ons self, but to giue it to the poore or Charitable

and Pious uses, not to be any way extrauagent in ons clothes, table or equipage, but meerly to haue what is decent, and sutable to ons condition, to charge as little as one can ons heirs with legacys, praying for ons soule or piousness, but rather to spare it from ons self during ons life tyme which

which will be better for ons self and those to whom you are to leaue what you haue,

to remember how greeuosly one has offended our creator, to be sensible of the malise of mortal sin, to detest ons self for what has past and to liue as mortifyd a life as ons calling will permitt, to use fastings, disiplins and to use both interior and exterior mortifications, as are proper for us by aduice of our Confesser, or spiritual director,

to haue an intire resignation to the good pleasur of God in all things, not

to murmur or repine at any crosse afflictions, or sicknesse w^ch^ happens to us, but on the contrary to praise him, for such mortifications, and to look on them as marks of his fauor to us.

tis no marke of Gods displeasur to send us afflictions and crosses, for he chastiseth those he loues, tis either to hinder our offending him, or punishing us for our past faults, remember what the Angel say unto Toby, a cause que tu estois agreable a Dieu, il a falu que l'affliction t'ésprouast, he was a just and charitable man a great obseruer of the Law, and yett had great mortifications made the right use of them, neuer murmurd nor complayned, we are all bound to behaue our selus after the same manner, tis want of Christianity

to rise at seuen or half an houer after, not to be aboue eight houers in bed.

So sone as one is up and so far drest as not to catch cold to say ons first morning prayres, so sone as quit drest to retire into an oratory or closett alone there to say ons other morning prayrs make some meditations or read some good book for half an houer,

immediately after w^{ch} to heare ons first masse and then to dispatch what businesse one has, then to walke to take the aire, and then to go and heare ons last masse, if one has any spaire tyme before that to spend it well in reading or writing so as neuer to be idle;

after diner to conuerse with the company one is in for some tyme, then if one can to retyre to rest ons self for some tyme and read a little in some good book, and about three to say the prayrs out of the manual for the euening, after which to follow ons affairs make visits or take the aire, and to assist at the Rosairey in the Chappel,

On Sondays, Holydays and thursdays in the afternone to assist at comply and the benediction at the Parish or some other Church, if not hindred by some just impediment, and on frydays at the Chapel, and to order so ons necessary affairs, as not to faile, if possible, assisting at those prayrs, the same as to those euery third wensday of the month, for restablishing Cat: Reli: in the three Kingdoms, and to fast that day,

to make the speritual Retreat of one day in the month out of P: Croissetts book printed at Lyons, 1694[1]

not to go to plays or Operas except it be with the M: C: King, and euen to auoyd that as much as one can without affectation

to obserue days of fasting and abstinence as are done by Cath: in Eng: with leaue of ons Conf:

to receue twice a weeke as wensdays or Sonday or such other days as shall be most proper

[1] Jean Croiset, *Retraite spirituelle pour un jour chaque mois.* Lyons, 1694.

Remember that we are sure of nothing in this world, but that we must dy, but when, where or how, we are ignorant of, consider this truth, and that as the tree falls so it shall ly,

Remember there is an Eternity, a heuen and a hell, consider this truth, and that God created you of nothing that you might serue him w^{ch} if you liue as becoms a good Christian, you are sure of Eternal happynesse, and the contrary if you disobey him.

Remember the danger of a death bed repentance and tho God be a God of mercy and of long suffring, yett his justice is terrible, and will reward euery one according to his works is one then in a condition to

July 31, 1700

I am sensible that the longer I liue in this world, I hazard euer day more and more my Eternity, being consious to my self, that as long I am in this world, I am neuer in safty, and can neuer be so, till I be freed from this curruptable body and united to thee, when will that happy day come, that I may enjoy, the beatifull vision, and be joyned to the Blessed Saints, who praise thee with out seasing, the soner tho callest me to thee is the better being sensible that whilest I remaine in this world I am alway exposed, it being so hard to liue up to what one is sensible is

the Duty of a good Christian, endeauor for some years and to performe it, and not be carryed away by the ill example of the world and the atifices of the common enemy of man kind and to be allways prepared, w^{ch} we are should euer be, it being the words of our Bl: Sau: be prepared

that all such as haue taken a firme resolution of liuing as becoms good Christians, and dos their parts to performe it, as far as human frailty will permitte, aught to desire to dy, tho content to liue

this is no new opinion but as anciant as Christianity, w^ch^ any one knows who has read S^t^. Pauls Epistols, and what A. Fathers haue sayd on that subject, tis what we pray for, euery tyme we say the Pater, is it not desembling with God Almight, to seeme to pray for what, we do not desire, can that be pleasing to him, who knoweth all our thoughts, and sercheth our very harts and vains, can any good Christian doubt of it, since tis so expresse in that prayre; besids we all know we dayly offend his deuine goodnesse, and that we can neuer be in such

a estate of grace, as to be sure neuer to relapse or not to fall into greater sins, then those we haue already comitted, we being sure of nothing, in this world, but that we must dy; what terrible examples haue we had of men chosen by God himself, as Saul and Solomon, did not the Roy: Prophet him self, who to use the Scriptur phrais, was a man after Gods oun hart, offend most greeuosly God Al. did not S^{t}. Peter left by our B: Sa: to be head of his Church, renounce him; after such examples, besides many of a layter date can we with out the higest folly and presumption be sure of our selus, we that are so fraile, so weake, so apt to be carryed away by our passions of all sorts, as well as ill example, of w^{ch} we haue but to much in this world; another motiue, is the feare of offending so good and gratious a God, who besids the hauing created us of nothing, the hauing sent his Son to redeeme us, and made us

capable of his eternal glory, has so long extended his mercy to us, by giuing us tyme to repente, and euen when we liued as it were, in defiance of him, by leding so unchristian a life, lett us but reflect in what a condition we should haue been had he not then had pity on us and preserued us, from Eternal Damnation, by giuing us tyme to repent, a fauor we in manner deserued from him, and w^{ch} had not been granted to to so many, not so guilty as our selus, and after all these considerations aught we not to loue him aboue all thing, and aught we not to desire to be out of a possibility of offending him, w^{ch} we know we cannot be, so long as in this world, do not deceue our selus, and examin truly what hinders us from desiring to dy, and we shall find, at the bottom, tis want of loue of God, and dying to this world, and in some degree a doubting

of Gods infinit mercy, tis not at the same tyme, but that we aught to tremble at the thoughts of the account we must giue of our selus when that dread-full day shall come, but that aught not, in my opinion, to hinder ons desire of dying, for the reasons already giuen, lett those that haue not yett brought them selus to be of this mind, be ware of deceuing themselus, by thinking tis not the to much loue of this world that hinders them from it, when realy it is, most people are but to apt to abound in their owne sence, and so may the easier be led away to gratify their natural inclination, and so not examin so closley that point of Christianity as they should, laying hold on the sayings of some Saint for their excuse, when tis realy but one, and not the true one, and not remember that the generallity of them, desired to be out of the world, tho they were content to liue, and sure we cannot do better then to follow in our prayrs

prayres the example of S^{t} Teresa, who desired to dy, or to suffer, for if it be the will of God we remaine in this world, we aught not only to be content to suffer, but desire it, since tis by suffrings (if we make the right of them) we are to attaine euerlasting glory; another excuse some make for their not desiring to dy, is the station they are in in this world, by being usfull to the Church, the State, or their owne priuat familys, I cannot look otherwise on these, as all illusions, and artifices of the Deuel, to hinder our aduancing in the way of the Lord, and leding us insensibly into the way of perdition, for is it not doubting to the last degree, the deuine Prouidence, and the height of presumption, for any persone what so euer, to think him self so necessary to the carrying on of any thing, as if it could not be done with out him, since we Christians, must be sensible, tis by him that Kings

raigne, and Princes decree justice, that says to the Sea, thus far shallt thou go, and no farther, that stilleth the raging of the sea the noise of its waues, and the madnesse of the people, that very offten maketh use of the least of the people and the most inconsiderable ons, to make great disturbances in the world, nay euen to ouer turne Kingdomes and states, and this euery day he dos to make us sensible that he is the Lord of Hosts, the God of Battles, dos not the Royal prophet warne us, not to put our trust in Princes, nor in the children of men, for there is no help in them, did not most of the other prophet, reproch the Jeues, for their want of faith, and relying on the arme of flesh, and were not that stif necked generation, punished more particularly for that that distrust as well as their other sins by their Temples being destroyd, and all their whole nation being led in to Captiuity, by the Assirians,

and shall not we Christians stand corrected and not doubt of Prouedence as they did, and expose our selus by that as well as by other, our transgressions, to as seuere punishments, either in this or the world to come, and insteed of ouer valuing as flattring ourselus, lett us do our selus justice, by remembring at best we are but unusfull seruants, by humbling our selus, and not forgetting what pitifull creturs we are, of our selus, and how insignificant we are without it pleases God to make use of us for instruments of his glory, either by suffring, or any other way, the holy scriptur tell us he is a jealous God, that he puteth downe the might from their seat and exalteth the humble and meek, and that by his owne right hand and holy arme he giueth him self the victory, and therefore lett us not offend him by hauing to good an opinion of our selus, or thinking he hath the least need of such wormes as we are; and tho I am of this mind, I am sensible one aught not run into the other

extreame, and not make use of all lawfull means to preserue what one has, or to recouer what has been taken unjustly from one, and to behaue ons self as becoms the condition or state of life to which he has been pleased to call us, allways hauing regard to what may be for his greater Glory, w^{ch} should be the whole designe of our life and my position dos in no manner hinder the care one is obliged to haue of our liues by using all regular and lawfull means to preserue it, that being a duty incombent on us all, for tho we should all of us desire to dy, we must be content to liue, and suffer it with pacience, since tis God Almightys will; to conclud, I cannot help being of the mind, that those who haue liued as becoms good christians from their very youth, aught to long to be out of this world, for feare of falling, and offending so good and gratious a God, and

and to enjoy his presence, and that those who haue been so ungratfull and so miserable as to liued in a state of damnation, for months, for yeares, and do at last truly repent, aught to desire it for the same reasons, with equal feruor,

96

Reasons for desiring to dy, Nou: 1696

I know that seuerall of my freinds and acquaintancs haue blamed and found fault with me for supporting and maining, that all those that do endeauor to liue as becoms a good Christian and haue practiced it some tyme, aught to desire to dy, that they may not be exposed to offend so good and grasious a God, that has done great and extraordinary things for us, and to me it apeares want of consideration that hinders any reasonable person from being of my mind, since it is so euident what danders we all run, and the hazards we are exposed to so long as we remaine in this world, where we are sure of nothing but that we must dy, and neither after what manner nor how prepared, and cannot know how we shall be prepared till the moment our soule and body must part, only this experience shews us that Kings Princes and the greatest and most accomplished persons here below can euer be with out considerable Crosses,

that sound reason shews us, that nothing can put us at any ease but being aboue the world w^{ch} cannot be as long as one is mastred by any passion, tis very hard to arriue at such a state of perfection, but to be endeauored with all the care and labour imaginable and is the bounden duty of all true Christians, to attaine to do their parts, to performe what such must know, is necessary to obtain so great a blessing, what haue wee to do in this world but to improue or selus and leaue nothing undone to perfection our selus, euery one according to his vocation or the condition he is in, it being our obligation to practice all that we know is necessary towards our saluation, by the aduice of a discreet confessor Spiritual director, and reading good books,

I confesse I was somewhat surprised discouring with you[1] the other day, to find you that haue looke death so offten and so boldly in the face, and seeme to do your endeauor to liue as becomes a good Christian, should not to giue into the opinion of so many of the aincient father and St. of the church, as not to be of their mind, that we aught to be desirous to Dy, I realy beleue tis want of consideration in you, and want of hauing read anything on that subject or discourced with such as are of that mind since they all agree that a perfect Christian, is one who desires to dy, and an ordinary one, that is only content with it, when it arriues; you and all of us know, that tis the duty of all that haue been so happy, as to be baptised, to endeauor to liue accordingly, and to do their parts to attine to the height of perfection, w^ch^ for all it be very hard to arriue at,

[1] Probably James Fitz-James, Duke of Berwick, the illegitimate son of James II and Arabella Churchill.

is not to be layd assid, because of the great dificultys that attend so great an undertaking, what paines what dangers dos not those of our trade undergo, to gain a little reputation in the world, and to capacitat them selus to comande armys all w^ch^ we cannot be sure of enjoying one moment, and is it not the last degree of folly and madnesse, not to take the same pains, the same care, to arriue at such an estat of perfection, w^ch^ perceuering in, we are sure of Eternal happynesse, and for all that this is a truth w^ch^ cannot be denyd by any who is truly a Christian, yett we see how few there are haue the courage and resolution to undertake it, so peruerce is our nature, and easily we are carryed away by the ill example of the world, espesially those

of us are obliged to remaine in it, and besids what I haue already sayd, euen as to our quiat and ease in this world, tis better, since those that are afraid of dying, must upon the least accident or little indisposition, be very much desturbed, I owne to come to that happy condition tis a great point gained, since it cannot be expected till one is so far aduanced on our way to heauen, as to haue taken a firme resolution to endeauor to led a true Christian life,

the feare of the Lord is the begining of wisdome,
he that loueth God with all his hart with all his mind and with all his strength has ataind it,
all things els are nothing but Vanity and vexation of Sperit,
we are bound out of gratitud as well self preseruation to Loue God,
tis the only way to be happy in this world and the next,
nothing can intirly satisfy and fill the hart of man but the loue of God,
nothing but giuing him our whole hart can satisfy him,
he is a jealous God and will admitt of no riual
and tho we are obliged to loue our King

our Country, relations, freinds, benefactors and all men as our selus, euen to ventur our our lius for them, yett all must giue place to God,
what folly what madnesse to sett our harts on what we are not sure to enjoy one moment, espesially on what will hurry us to the pitt of Hell,
remember there is an Eternity consider it well
tis the last degree of folly not to be always prepared to enter into Eternity you haue no tyme to spaire no not a minute you know not how sone you may be called,
tis want of considring damns so many be not guilty of it,
no excuse will serue, you are a resonable creture, God has giuen a sufficient talent

to worke out their saluation with feare and trembling,

for myself

to feare God and to haue a true sence of all the mercis he has shewd towards me, and more particularly for my making my escape out of the hands of those Rebellious vilans, who some months after murtherd the King my father,

for his protecting me in all the Battalls Seiges and fights I haue been in at sea as well as at land, and deliuring me from many other dangers, which I haue been exposd to on both of them, and for restoring his M. in this his Kingd:[1] for recouring me of the small pox which had swept away some years before some of our family,[2]

for giuing me so healthfull a body and pacience to endure many and great pains, and for preseruing me hetherto from the snars and plots of my enemys.

[1] If James deliberately wrote 'this his kingd[om]', and was referring to the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, it would seem as if he composed this section before 1685. In that case the 'affliction and mortification', to which he refers on the next page, were caused by his virtual exile during the Exclusion Bill contest 1679–82.

[2] James had an attack of small-pox in 1667. This disease caused the deaths of his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, and of his sister, the widow of William II, Prince of Orange, in 1660. It proved fatal to his daughter, Mary II, in 1694.

for his hauing touchd my hart with a treu sence of my past sins and to pray to God to continu his grace to me and euery day to encresse in me a greater abhorance of them and to giue me such a portion of his holy spirit as I may neuer fall in to any of them againe.

and aboue all to praise Almighty God for his opning my eis and my being a true conuert to his true Church,

and then humbly to acknowledg that I haue justly deserued all the affliction and mortification he has been pleasd to lay on me, acknowledg I haue deserued for my many fold and great sins more and greater than yett I haue had,

praying the continuance of his grace that in case it shall please him at any other

tyme to lay any farther punishments upon me that he will giue me pacience to beare them and an intire resignation to his heauenly will in all things, and finily such a proportion of his holy sperit as keeps me from falling into those sins w^{ch} are most incident to my age and condition that at last I may ataine eternal life,

1697

Altho I am a great admirer of La Trappe, and of the Holy and exemplary life the Monks led there, and am ouer joyd when I heare of any that leaue the world and retire thether, and haue found great reason to praise the deuine goodnesse for hauing put it into my hart to see that place, since I have visibly found great aduantage by it, yett I cannot be so partial to it, as to thinke one may not worke out ones saluation in in the world, without retiring thether or to some strict order, seing that persons of all qualitys, of all callings, haue been great Saints, and may be so still if thay make the right use of the grace of God, w^ch^ will neuer be wanting to those that do hartily desire it, and endeauor to improve their talant, for our being obliged to liue in the world, and the performing the condition of life, to w^ch^ it has pleased God to turne us, is no hinderance to our leding a true Christian life: for all of us ly under

the same obligations of taking up our cros and following our blessed Sauior, as well as those of La Trappe, for tho it would not consist with our duty, to practice so very strict a silence as they, yett we ly under the obligation of gouerning our tong, as not in the least degree to offend our neighbour with it, and tho we are not under a vow, to gouerne their eis as they do, we are bound to keep a watch on them, as to auoyd looking on dangerous objects, w^{ch} haue been the losse of may, and tho we are not obliged to such abstinance as they, and to use such laborious works with our hands as they, yett we are obliged to use that temperence and sobriaty in our dyat as not to run into any excesse of that kind, and tho it may be we cannot labour with our hands we aught to auoyd being idle, and take care in regulatin our priuat concerns, and take pains in assisting our neighbours as far as we can in fine we aught to haue the same sperit of Chris:

Christianity as they haue, to be gouerned and guided by the same sperit that they are, and in our way to worke out our saluation with the same care, feare and trembling they do, they are but men as well as we, we haue the same obligations on us as they haue, Jesus Christ died for us all, we are equaly bound to follow his steps, his precepts, to be humble and paicent as well as they are, and remember that without those two Christian qualitys we cannot hope to perceuer in our duty, but will be apt to lett our selus go the fals and decetfull maxims of this world and be carryed away by the ill example of its followers, who but for the most part find to late their mistake,

Annett: July 1698

it aught to be the wonder of all true Christians to see so very few of their number liue if they were so, and take more pains to dam them selus, then would procure them a happy eternity, and for things they cannot promis to themselus, they can enjoy one moment, tis want of consideration, and reflection that hinders their comprehending so great truths, I owne t'was my misfortune, as well as, as thousand of others; and am now amazed I was not soner sensible of them, and till then I neuer was at ease, nor is it possible to be other wise till one feares to offend our mercifull God, and had rather dy then to displease him, you know the saying that the feare of the Lord, is the begining of wisdome, and that the loue of God is the fullfilling of the Law

both are absolutly necessair and tis deceuing ons self to thinke other wise, for a seruil loue is not sufficient, it being our duty to loue our gratious God meerly for all he has done for us, and not only for feare of Damnation, when once that loue is truly ingrafted in us, we shall be affraide of nothing but of offending him, and that is the only way of liuing with ease in this world, for who so euer is afraide of dying must be very uneasi at the least accident the least feauor or or distemper befales him; I am sensible tis not an easi thing to bring ons self to that temper; for ons owne sake as well as for feare of offending ons deuine Creator, or aught to endeauor it, and lose no tyme in going about so important an affaire, w^{ch} indeed is the only necessary, all then must haue a begining, and tis the greatest artifice of our greatest enemy to hinder

us by all his arts and emisarys, from considering the truth of our case, by all the ways imaginable, what representation do not they make to fright a new beginners, by endeuoring to perswade them that tis only for hermits monkes and friers to liue so as is proposed to them, that there is not such obligation on such as liue in Courts, and in the world, as the morros and melancoly Church men hold forth, and because they are grown old and haue been pedanticaly educated would perswade other to follow their methods, for what harme is their in in frequenting plays operas balls and other publike assemblys w^{ch} are countenanced and permited in all civilsed nations, as long as other wais they liued decently, and gaue not publik scandale that men are men and must liue like

whilst they continu in it, this is what the soberest of them say, and pretend not to be libertins or downe right athist and pretend not to aproue or encourage profane or leud liuing; but alas these in a grauer way, do as little know what true Christianity is as the others and lose them selus, also for want of consideration, and are also hard to be reclamed; did any of them giue them selus the tyme but to consider they would be sone of another mind and be conuinced of the decete and danger of any delay, for tho tis true that all men haue not vocation to be Hermits or to take upon them the three usual vows taken by such, as retire into any of the orders of the Church yett such as remaine in the world, are bound to liue as becomes good Christian, and will one day feele the smart of it, if they do not take pains and endeuor to performe their baptismal vows, for the grace of God is neuer wanting to those that aske it

it, in the name of his blessed Son, and make it their businesse to obtain it, is any thing to be more coueted and desired then to attaine a happy Eternity, and yett to the amazement of resonable and thinking people how few are there that will make the least step, or take any pains to obtaine so great a blessing, or auoyd Eternal damnation, is it not the last impudence for men that take upon them the name of Christians and seeme to haue a mind, to be thought so, some of w^{ch} are regular enough in hearing masse on days of obligation, and euen on other days, and yett after that passe the rest of there tyme as if they were totaly ignorant that there is such a thing, as the Law or the Gospel, can they pretend to haue heard of either, that spend most of the rest of the rest of the day and night in diuertion as they call them so contrary to both, and neuer aproued of, or practiced, by the primitiue Christians, I speake of publike

spectacles at the theaters, and excessiue gaming, w^ch^ haue been of late yeares to my knowledg, writen and preached against by the ablest and learned of the prelats of the Gallican Church, and the eloquents of their preachers of all sosiatys, are not we in our days bound to endeauor to imitat the first Christians we hauing the same obligation as had, and aught to be as desirous to worke out our saluation with feare and trembling as they, tis not for me to take upon me to condemne others, tis other peoples businesse, but I cannot help wishing with others, that such thing were forbiden by those to whom it properly belonges, and in the mean tyme cannot help saying that as to my self, I should look on it in me to be a very great fault to frequent, play houses, or operas, they not being proper places for to be frequented, by such as do designe and take a firme resolution to liue

regularly, and giue no scandal of any kind, euen to such good men as thinke they aught not to be permitted, I am sure there can be no danger of erring on the right side, and certain it is that, the hazard is great, and that thousands of persons of both sexes, haue been peruerted and fallen into ill courses, by frequenting such publike places, where such publike scandales are dayly countenanced, and where nothing of good can be learnt, and I cannot help looking on those parents or relations very indiscreet that lett any they aught to haue a care of frequent such places more espesially if, they be yonge or handsome, I cannot help being of this mind for the reasons already giuen, wish they were forbid by publike authority, till when tis not for me to condemne those that go to such places, and certainly such as designe to liue well are obliged to auoyd any the least excesse in gaming,

for feare of offending God, and all the euel concequences w^ch^ attend it, w^ch^ if one would but consider one would easily abstaine from exposing ons self from so dangerous an entertainment, and can any thing be a greater slauery, then to be a constant and pasioneat gamster, for no slaue in the Gallys, no labouring man but has more quiat and rest then they, very often they do not giue them selus to eat drinke or sleep, are enraged when the lose, when they win are vexed tis not more, so are neuer satisfyd, how many do we see euery day that ruin their health as well as their fortun and can neuer hope for a Christian end, till they leaue of, and repent so danderous a trayd, I am amazed that so many of seeming good sence should be so carryed away with such a dangerous a diuertion, I owne tis hard for persons w^ch^ liue in the world, not to be seduced by the ill example of those they frequent, both as to gaming and publike shews, and must say that those

designe to liue well aught not to frequent either, I do not at all wonder at yonge people that loue any of those diuertions, espesialy plays and operas, they being so alowed and frequented, but cannot help being scandalised at husbands and parents that do not use all gentle means, to hinder yonge wiues and Daughters from exposing themselus at such dangerous diuertions, nor is one to expect, that others then those, who are fully resolued to endeauor to led a good life, should refraine from them, so hard a thing it is to breake ons self of ill coustums contracted by coustume and ill example, but do not dispare of ouer coming them, one sees persons of all ages of both sexes of all conditions, reclamed, tho few till the heat of their youth is past and haue had some crosses and mortifications, w^{ch} are sent us by deuine Prouidence to awake us out of the profound letergy we are in, and w^{ch} very offten is repeated till at last we grow truly sensible

of our past faults, folly and madnesse, such is the mercy and paternal care God Almighty takes of us as to bring us back to him if we haue any tests of Christianity and will make the right use of his grace w^{ch} is neuer wanting to those who hartily desire it.

Haue mercy on the distressed part of thy persecuted Church that is in the three Kingdoms, preserue them from the terrible Laws,[1] that haue been made against them, from w^ch^ if thou dost not speedily protect them, thy holy Religion, humainly speaking, must in some years be intirly routed out, giue them resignation to performe, and cherfully submitte to thy Deuine will in all things, pacience to beare with Courage, losse of life, estate, and all things they possesse or are most deare to them, rather then fall from, or any ways decemble thy faith, or do any

[1] Probably a reference to the laws passed against Irish Catholics in 1695 and 1697.

any thing unvorthy of the true Roman Catholike, and Apostolike faith, and euer remember they are Christians, w^ch^ if they do, they need feare nothing, being sure of a happy Eternity: Haue mercy on the Queene and all my Children, grant they may liue as becoms good Christians that my son may succede me on the throne, that he may be an instrument of thy glory, that all that haue come from me, and haue been breed up, in thy faith and feare, may liue up to it, and so as to attaine euerlasting life, and that such others who are come from me, and haue been so unfortunate, as

to haue been educated amongest Heretiks, may speedyly know, and be sensible of their errors, and embrace thy true faith; haue mercy on this King, and all his family; preserue this Church, from being molested or ouer run with Heresy; preserue the Duke and Dutchesse of Sauoye, and all their Children thou hast already giuen them, and grant that the D^{s}:, in deu tyme, may bring him more Sons; touch L: S:[1] hart that he may know and embrace thy Cat: Reli:, Grant that I may always be prepared; that so that whensoeuer thou shalst please to call me to thee, I may be ready, the sonner the better; and till that happy day shall come,

[1] Perhaps Lord Sutherland. See note to p. 6.

giue me true humility, charity and Christan pacience, that so I may liue as becoms a good Christian.

Haue mercy on the P. of Or: toutch his hart that he may speedily repent his past life, w^{ch} doing, he may become a true conuert and so attaine Euerlasting life. the Pope, all Bish: Preists and Jesuits and Reli: of all orders that they liue up to their Voues and so attaine Euerlasting life.

Haue mercy on the Emp: all Cath: Ks. Ps. and Prot: that they all may liue in all things up to what they proffesse as becomes true and zealous Christians, and to consider well and wisely their obligations as such, and not to lett them selues be imposed on by reuenge, or false, or bribed Councellors, that they may not haue a terrible account to giue at the Last day.

Si quel qu'um veut venir aprés moy, qu'il renonce a soy mesme, qu'il porte sa croix, et qu'il me suiue, if all who call them selus Christians are obliged to gouerne them selus by these words of our B: Sauior how much more aught they to be obserued by those who haue volontarly quited the world, and made vowes of Chastite pouerty and obedience: can they that made them expect to haue no others but those they haue chosen themselus, and aught not they, to receue those, that it pleases God to send us, with pacience, humity, and an intire resignation, and w^{ch} are sent us for the most part, for our greater sanctification, we can neuer do amise by submitting; and run great hazard in being impacient, and not submitting calmly to the will of God, you know nothing happens to us but by his will or permitteon, and

tis not by pleasing our selus or gratifing our passions or little uneasinesses, that we can hope to attaine a happy Eternity, tis by suffring we must gaine it, and must be so far from repining at any, that we aught to giue God thanks when any befalls us, tis very offten a marke of wrath to lett people obtaine what they so much desire, for their greater reprobation, and we haue sad examples in the holy writ, of great and good men that haue neuer falen, but when in prosperity, tis then, I meane in prosperity, and when what we desire happens, that we must most be on our garde, you cannot forgett what Tho: a Kemps says in the Chapter I recomended to you to reade upon the subject concerning the impaciences took seuerall Reli: men of hoping for more ease by

by changing of houses, tis the same in all persones that hope for releef in

I owne to you[1] tis no easy matter for a yonge unexperianced man that is in the vigor of his youth has courage and ambition, to liue in the world and not to be led away by the decetfull pleasurs and promises it gius, since there are so few that they comonly heard with, who liue like good Christian, and if they find the yonge man has good and vertuous inclinations do not take take pains to inspire lewd and euen athisticale principles into them, according to the vices they are most giuen to themselus I say this knowingly, taking pleasur in making other as much the children of the Diule as themselus, what hazard then do not yonge persons run tho they haue been breed up with neuer so much care and piety in colledges, when they come to apeare upon the stage of this world, and if it happens that they haue a freind or relation that gius them good aduice, and that would hinder them from runing head long in to lewd and dangerous cources, they are turned into redicul by those masters of inniquity espesially if that good aduicer be anything aduanced in years, and laughted at as bigots, or that haue some particular malise or prejudice against those companions and reproched or aspersed as if in their

[1] It is clear from what follows that 'you' is James's natural son, James Fitz-James, Duke of Berwick.

yonger day they had not liued up to the doctrin they then preched, making a point of good breeding to dame ons self, saying that tis tyme enough to take up when one grows old, that none but weake and dul people or hipocondrincal, will depriue themselus of the pleasurs of this world or will trouble them selus with hearing of sermens, frequenting churches or reading good book, and so by these deuices of the diule and ill example such as you are led away, be not imposed on by either the one or the other, lett sound reason preuaile, do but consider well, and you will find tis want of judgment and common understanding, and the last folly and madnesse to lett ons self go and be led away by the pleasurs and vanitys of this world, you haue been in many dangers, haue looked death in the face, and haue seen many fall by you when you haue been preserued consider how may of those, tis to be but to reasonably, went straight to hell to endure an eternity of torments, consider if it had been your fate to haue been carryd of then what had become of you unprepared as you were, reflect how good God almighty was to you not to let you be of the number of the slaine,

when you consider that it is the duty of a father to look after the Eternal welfaire as well as of the the temporal concerne of their Children you will not wonder at my doing my utmost to conuince you that nothing can contribut to your ease and quiat and well being euen in this world, as you liuing as becoms a good Christian, be not led away by ill example, and the false maxims and discources of the world, that yonge men may giue themselus the liberty of enjoying the pleasurs of it, and turne to God when they grow old, these thoughts and discources haue, and do misled, to many that are in their strength and vigor, who will not giue themselus tyme to consider that they are apter to be carryed off by distempers, and other accidents to w^{ch} they are more exposed then men of a more mature age, and experiance, consider well and you will find this to be a great truth, I know you may say, or other sugest, that tho I give you this aduice now, I did not

liue up to it when I was of your age nor for many years after, I owne it and with confusion tis but to true, and was led away with and by the pleasurs and vanity of this world, and would not giue my self tyme to consider seriously the diference bettwene temporall and Eternale, and what is the duty of a Christian; that is no reason why you should do it; on the contrary it aught to be a warning to you not to run in to the like inconueniences, the soner you begin to turne to God the easier you will find it, and it will be more meritorious to giue your self to him in the strength and vigor of your youth then to deffer it till sicknesse wounds or age render you incapable of performing the ordinary dutys that becoms a good Christian, and if you should be so unfortunat, nay so miserable, as to deffer it till then, do but consider how troubled you would be to haue begun no soner, to shew by your way of liuing you are truly a Christian, and not so only in name; then t'will be harder to haue that true remorse and contrision is absolutly necessary, and how with any reason can one expect that God will then be so mercyfull

as to giue one the grace of a thorough repentance, and how dos one know that the next mortal sin on comitts, dos not fill up our measur, if you would but well consider what I haue said, you would not deffer your conuersion no not a moment, and would go and make a generall confession, remember how well you liued when you came out of Ireland and how all good people were pleased and edifyd at it, and how I used to speake to your brother[1] to follow your example, I am sorry from the bottom of my hart I cannot use that argument now to him, consider well with your self, how that unhappy alteration in you came, and I am confidant it you will find it proceded cheefly from your keeping company with some whose principals as agree well as practyces, are not very consonant with the name they beare of Christians, and I am apt to beleue, that if you would calle to mind how you liued then, I meane when you behaued your self to the edification of all good men as became a good Christian, you will find you found then more satisfaction, ease and quiat of mynd, then since; I am sure by experiance I found it so, and that when I gaue my self up to much to my pleasurs, I neuer was twise fower and twenty houers with out trouble and uneasinesse,

[1] James Francis Edward.

w^ch^ is the case of all those who giue themselus up, and sett their harts with earnestnesse on any thing but the loue of God, for human natur can neuer be satisfyd or thinke they haue enough of honors Riches, voluptious pleasurs ets and so can neuer be at any ease, I am confident if any of these sorts of men were asked the question, and would answer ingeniously they would owne what I haue sayd to you of my self, to be true, I know it was so with the late King my brother, and was both an ei and an eare witnesse of it, for many years, and tho I could not know others so well as I did him, as not being so conuersant with them, that gaue themselus up either to the desire of Honors, Riches or of Voluptious pleasurs, that were more at ease, euen tho they gaue themselus not the tyme to remember they were not sure of enjoying what they so doted on, no not a moment, what madnesse is it then to take such pains to obtaine such dangerous transitory, and momentary pleasurs, w^ch^ hurry one away to hell with out harty and tymly repentance if one would take but half the pains to serue God as one dos to Damne onself, on might secure a happy Eter-

happy Eternity; how carfull are most people to preserue their healt; are they not looked on as mad men, that do not follow the perscriptions of Phesitions, both as to diat way of liuing, and euen to swallow downe nautious medsins and when by wounds or other accidents a gangerin has seased on a leg or an arme, one is content to part with either to preserue a mortal and uncertain life, w^{ch} one is sure cannot last long, and is it not the last degree of madnesse and folly to take such care of our temporal lius and so little of our Eternal wellfaire, therefore lose no more tyme consider

till the last account S^r: Will: Waldegraue[1] had from D^r Garuan[2] concerning the D^s of Ber:[3] I had still some faint hops of her recouery, but now to my very great greef I haue none, so that after what he, D^r Garuan has sayd to you, and what you see your self, you aught to be prepared for so irreparable a losse, and put on all your Christianity to support it, and to receue it with that entire resignation, w^ch we all are equaly bound haue, for the will of God, and look on those crosses and mortifications he is pleased to send us, as for our greater good; we may expose our selus and hazard our Eternal saluation, by complayning to much, w^ch is in some mesur, is a sort of murmering against what he dos, or may happen to us, euery day, or think that what we suffer is more then we we deserue, lett no such thought enter into our heads, for one mortal sin deserus more punishments then tis possible to be inflicted on any one in this world, and therefore were made Eternal in the other world, if we dy in mortal sin without

[1] Sir William Waldegrave was first physician to James II. *Stuart Papers*, i. 103.

[2] Calahan Garvan, later physician to the household of James III. *Stuart Papers*, i. 163.

[3] Berwick m. 26 March 1695 Honora, widow of Patrick Sarsfield, titular Earl of Lucan. She died of consumption 16 January 1698.

true repentance and contrition; to obtaine w^ch^ no tyme must be lost nothing neglected to attaine a happy Eternity, w^ch^ I doubt in no manner you will faile of, if you perceuer in the good way you are now in, as I am confident you will do assured you, reflect with you self after what manner the deuine prouidence has made use of his power and goodnesse to call you to him, and to awake you out of the letergy and insensibility you were in, to draw you to him, after you had falen back, since your returne from Ireland, into those euel cources you contracted there; and had left off for some tyme, till your returne from the Hougue[1], when you fell back into those former and other ill ways, by the bad example and discources of those you were obliged in the armys, as well in other places, to keepe company with, of w^ch^ I am sure you must now be sensible; tis wonderfull to see the seuerall meanes and extraordinaire ways, the great God takes to call us sinners to him, we both of us haue had the experice ont, as to my self I plainly see that t'was the deuine prouidence sent me out of England into

[1] The battle of La Hogue, 19 May 1692.

forraine countrys and then to haue no constant retreat or suporte but amongst Catholiks, with out w^ch^ seeming misfortune in all probability I should neuer haue been so happy as to haue knowne the truth of our Reli: and concequently embraced it, and had it not pleased the same Prouidence to haue taken my three Kingdomes from me, I should haue hardly haue had the tyme, and meanes to haue known or been truly informed, what is the bounden duty of a true Christian, and am euery day more and more sensible that I did deserue so great a marke of God Almigtys disfauor to me, in the ei of the World, for hauing liued so many yeares togater, almost in a perpetual course of sin and scandal, and made so little and so ill use of the graces he had been pleased to shower downe upon me, and praised be his holy name for his hauing humbled me and corrected me to the degree he has done, and hope by his grace I shall

make the right use ont that I may obtaine Eternal saluation,

I sent this to Mon: Conf: Pere Treuou Seu: Mo. since

On craint que la pensee de la mort
ne troublait notre joye, qu'elle nous
randit melancoliques; on ce trompe
car la pensée de la mort, ne trouble
que ceux qui ne s'y preparent point,
et qui ne veulent pas y pencer.

tout le monde craint la mort subite et peu la crainent de cette crainte sage qui fait prendre les précautions necessaire pour euiter ce qu'on craint:

la mort subite n'est point dangereuse lors qu'elle n'est point impreuue.

Que le monde est trompeur et que ceux qui si fient sont fort a plaindre malheureux et bien aueuglé, pour peu que l'on la pratique et que l'on vent tant soit peu y songer, on connoist cette verite, et que tout est vanité, comme dit le plus sage des Rois hors d'aimer Dieu, quand on peut arriuer a ce degree de sagesse on est assuré d'estre, content en ce monde, et heureux en l'autre, et tout ce qu'arriue icy bas de facheux aux veritable cruiteurs de Dieu, ne trouble pas leur tranquilité,

A S^{t} Germains le 4: Octo. 1694

On ne peut pas estre plus penetrée que je suis de l'amitie et honesteté qu'on nous temoigna sur le facheux contertemps que nous arriua par la morte du Duc de Modene[1] que nous oblige a parter plus tost que nous nous estions proposé, je suis d'autant plus faché a cause que je m'estoit proposè de parler au Roy en vray frere et comme un veritable amy, sur ce que le touche de bien prez, et je croirois manquer a ce que je luy dois, si je ne le fesoit pas, estant bien persuadé qu'il prendera en bon part, puis que j'ay raison de croire, qu'il a une grande fons de pieté et qu'il est si penetrée de la craint de Dieu, qu'il ne le voudroit pas l'offencer en la moindre chose pour ce seauuer la vie

[1] Francesco II, Duke of Modena, and brother to James's wife, Mary of Modena, died 6 September 1694.

mais vous scauez que ce n'est que le commencement de la sagesse, et que pour estre perfait it faut aimer le bon Dieu de tout son coeur et de toute sa forse, le seruir par amour, et non pas par, une crainte seruile, et le moyen de l'aimer comme il faut, sans communier plus souuent qu'il ne fait, notre enemie cõmune ce sert de tout sortes d'artifices pour empecher d'auancer dans le bien, et quant il trouue qu'on a le coeur bon il tache a empecher les frequentes communions, en nous faisent deuenir trop scrupeleuz, comme si ceux qui ont beaucoup d'affairs sur les bras, ne peuuent pas ce preparer comme il faut, c'est un vray illusion, de le croir, car quoy on n'a pas tant de tempe a soy comme d'autres gens, on en peut

trouuer sufisement sans negliger ces affairs d'obligation, pour veu qu'on a l'intention bon, et qu'on aime le bon Dieu, c'est luy plaire que de traualier selon son deuoir, je suis assuré que si le Roy voulut coñunier un fois le mois il y trouueroit beaucoup de soulagement mesme dans ces affairs, et d'augmentation dans sa pieté, ceux qui l'ont epreuue l'ont trouué, c'est de notre deuoir d'aprocher le plus souuent que nous pouuons du bon Dieu, et n'est pas manquer a ce qu'on luy doit de ne le pas faire souuent, et ne doit on pas auoir la dernier impaicence de jouir d'un si grand bien, un Roy de la terre que ceux a qui il donne tous les jours le marquis de sa faueur negligeroit de luy faire leur cour et regarderot ces courtisents comme indigne des bontez qu'ils leurs auoit temoigné, n'est pas de mesme a l'egard

du bon Dieu, peut il, sans parler du temporel, donner de plus grands marques de sa bonté et de l'amour paternel qu'il a pour nous, que de nous retirer de la seruitude du peché, de nous faire, sensible des malheurs de notre vie passé, auec un propos de liberé de ne le pas offencer pour le temps a venir, et ne deuons nous pas aprehendre qu'il ce retirera de nous si nous ne luy faissons pas notre coure comme nous deüons et n'est pas manquer a notre deuoir de ne pas communier souuent quant il a la bonté de nous conuier de le faire, tous les habites directeurs le conscident S^t^ François de Sales dit; le foibles doiuent communier souent afin de deuenir forts, les forts pour ne pas deuiner foibles, que ceux qui n'ont pas beaucoup d'affairs dans le monde a cause qu ils en ont la comodité, et que ceux qui en ont beaucoup par ce qu'il en ont necessite et que ce luy qui trauaile

trauaile beaucoup et qui est chargé de paines doit aussi manger les viendes solides et souuentes fois, on n'a qu'a lire les deux Chapitres, de l'introduction, 2: partie 20 et 21: pour estre satisfait que rien n'est si necessaire pour ceux qui veulient et souhaitent de viure en bonnes Chretiens que la frequent Communion,

en verité il est bien temps de songer a vous, j'ay este bien faché de voir, par la raison que vous me donnast, l'autre jour, pourquoy vous n'auiez pas cõunie a Noel, que vous n'y songez nulament, votre confeseur a en assurement grand raison, et vous grand tort, de l'obliger de vous dire ce qu'il a fait, peut on pretendre a estre homme resonable, et menner une vie tel que vous fait, si oposé a une vie Chretienne, et de vous priuer de la plus grande grace, que le bon Dieu vous peut faire, plustost que de changer une mañier de viure que vous expose a tout moment, a la dernier des malheurs, songez y bien, et s'il vous reste le moinder souenence du Christianisme, les cheueux vous deuoit dresser sur la teste quand

vous songez que vous pouuez mourir, subitément, sans estre bien preparé on meure a tout temps, a tout age, on n'est sure de rien en ce monde, si ce n'est qu'il faut mourir, la mort vous peut surprendre, au jeu, a l'Opera, a la Comedie au Bal, est on veneu en ce monde sulement pour ce dauertir, ne faut il pas rendre compt un jout de tout ce qu'on a fait, dit, ou pencé, ne deferez pas plus long temps a changer de vie, ne vous laissez pas entrainer par la coutume, par la mauuais habitude, par la mauuais example, que vous auez contracté seruez vous du temps que le bon Dieu vous donne, fait penitence prenez un resolution ferme et deliberé de ne le plus offencer suiuez les bonnes auis de votre conffeseur ne crainnez pas ce que le monde en dira

mais crainnez de perir miserablement, que vous arriuera indubitablement au moins que de vous reconciliez tout de bon, et en veritable Chretien, auec le bon Dieu, c'est l'amitie que j'ay pour vous que m'oblige de vous parler si fortement, peut on moins faire quond on voit son amy sur le borde du precipice ou il va ce perdre pour un eternité, songez y bien, suiuez l'example du Roy, qui vous a montre le chemain, soyez a la fin sensible des fleaux que Dieu a punie la plus grande partie de l'Europe, comme la guerre, la peste et la famine, pour leur faire voir quil y a un Dieu, qui gouuerne le monde, et pour leur faire changer de vie ne soyez pas des dernier a le faire, car tant plus l'on est grande tant plus on est obligez a donner le bon example,

Queerys

Whether considering the life I haue led and that my age as well as station I am in, dos hinder me, from using those penances and mortification, w^ch^ would be requisit, to shew the abhorance and detestation I haue for my past offences against so good and gratious a God, I aught not to be content, as a greater penance then can be inflicted on me in this world, not to make us of the usual prayrs of the Church, to endeauor by them, to shorten my tyme of being in Purgatory: and whether what I may haue designe for that use, may not be better employd, in charitys, and praying for all the faithfull departed;

and whether it is not more meritorus, and better, to lay a side whilst on is aliue, for such charitys and other pious uses as one designes, then to leaue the burten on ons heirs and successors; and whether

it be not deceuing ons self to expect any merit for such gifts, as one leaus to be payd after our deceace by our hiers, since it is a burthen to them, and that one dos not feele the inconueniance of it our selus;

O mon Dieu, je me presente deuant le Trosne de vostre misericorde tout couuert de crimes.

Je declare, O mon Dieu, que la plus grande misericode que vous aues pu me faire tout Dieu que vous estes c'est de ne m'auoire pas surpris par la mort dans le desordre du peché mortel, comme tant d'autres qui ne vous ont jamais offensé n'y si souuent n'y si grieuement que moy.

Je n'ay plus O mon Dieu q'une grace a vous demander ; vous este Dieu vous aué la foudre en main, frappé moy de la mort la plus cruelle et la plus honteuse de toutes les morts auant que je sois jamais assez malheureux que de retomber dans le pechez mortel.

Et la parolle O mon Dieu que je vous donne n'est plus une simple parolle mais une parolle Solemnelle autentique ; a la quelle j'appelle pour temoins le Ciel la terre les Anges les Saints la S. Vierge vous mesme O mon Dieu, attache en Croix en foy de quoy j'ay bien voulu signer le present escrit le Sixzieme jour du mois de Juin mille Sept cent

J. R.

I haue to great a concerne for your saluation, not to look on my self on seuerall account obliged, to do my part to procure it, both out of Christianity, and to lett you see, I do rely on the assurances you haue giuen me under your owne hand, as well as what has been signifyd to my by some of your freinds, that you will endeauor to repare past faults, committed against me, hardly to be forgiuen espesialy by so kind a father that dos not remember, he has deserued

that cannot be accused by you or anybody

I thanke[1] you for the decleration you sent me, and hope his Ma: and these Kindgoms will find that aduantage by it w^ch^ tis visible he designed to all his Subjects, and as we, his R.C. subjects, haue our share, in so gratious an indulgence, with the rest of the dissenters from the Ch of Eng: so I hope we shall behaue ourselus as good Christiens aught to do; to God in the first place, and then to our King, and fellow subjects, and tho I am no Clergyman, yett tis the duty of euery man, to giue good aduice to a freind, and so I hope you will take it, in the first place, we aught now more then euer, to be very thankfull to God Almighty, for letting us breath freely againe, and taking of that heauy hand of Persecution w^ch^ has been so seuere upon many of us, and hauing now giuen us that great blessing of enjoying our Religion

[1] Pages 168–170 are not in James's handwriting, and are written on larger paper than the rest of the volume. They were probably composed by a Roman Catholic after the issue of James's first Declaration of Indulgence in April 1687.

with freedome, and lett none of us be to much exalted, by hauing a King of our owne persuation to gouerne us, but lett us behaue our selus with moderation and meeknesse euen to those who haue been the seuerest to us, nothing can do us more good both as to this world and the next, and nothing can do our religion so much right, tis one of the great commands of our Sauiour, and remember that no man can be a good Christien with out Charity, and Humility, these vows, are not only proper for Monasterys, and people retyred out of the commerce of this world, but may be practiced both in courts and armys, no man on earth is to great to practice them, and the more eminent station a man is in the more aught the practise of eminent vertus to be expected from him, and if they are truly sensible of Gods goodnesse to them, in

placing them in such high posts, the more they are obliged to lett the world see they haue them, and will practice them, there is another thing w^ch^ is very necessary for all of our perswasion w^ch^ is to behaue our selus so as not to giue the least aduantage to any of our aduersarys by our discourses or action to so much as beleue that we shall not be good subjects, and true English men, in case a Protestant, w^ch^ is likely, should succede,

Je n'auois pas le temps de me bien expliquer l'autre jour quand je vous a y dit, que que quelque fois ce que des gens de bien dirent de nous a notre auantage et mesme quand ce n'est rien que la verité, peut estre un ruse de notre enemy commune de tacher par la de nous perdre, croyent par la peu a peu de nous faire tomber dans le trop bon opinion de nous mesme, puis que par experience il a trouue que c'estoit l'unique on mellieur moyen de perdre ceux qu'il n'auoit pas peu detourner de menner un vie edifiant, il y a eu tant d'examples de cette sort qu'il ne faut pas s'estonner si l'on a peur de donner dans ce piege, puis que il n'est que trop naturel de prendre du plaisir d'estre loué : et le plus que l'on auance dans la pieté, le plus on doit estre sur ces gardes a fin de ne pas ce perdre par le trop bon opinion de soy mesme, quoy que si l'on veut tant soit peu ce reflecher de notre foibles et que nous n'auons rien de bon en nous mesme

on euiteroit faciliment ce danger la, c'est pourquoy nous deuons nous humilier tous les jours deuent Dieu, considerer notre neant et que nous ne pouuons rien de nous mesme, c'est manque de ce bien mettre cette verité dans l'esprit que bien des gens, et quelques unes de mes amys, ont fait des cheutes terribles dans les commencements de leur conuersions, et ont eu bien de la paine d'en reuener, telles accidents doiuen faire peure tous ceux qui viuent dans le monde, estant plus exposé que les autres, enfin

APPENDIX I

Anne Hyde, Duchess of York, wrote a paper to explain why she became a Roman Catholic, which James had published in 1686. It is printed in full in Kennet's *Complete History of England*, 2nd. ed., 1719, iii. 319–20, whence the following extract is derived.

'I do protest in the presence of Almighty God, that no person, man or woman, directly nor indirectly, ever said any thing to me since I came into England, or used the least endeavour to make me change my religion. It is a blessing I wholly owe to Almighty God, and I hope the hearing of a prayer I daily made him, ever since I was in France and Flanders, where, seeing much of the devotion of the Catholicks (tho' I had very little myself), I made it my continual request to Almighty God, that if I were not, I might before I died, be in the true religion. I did not in the least doubt but that I was so, and never had any scruple till November last [1669], when reading a book called *The History of the Reformation*,[1] by Dr. Heylin, which I had heard very much commended, and have been told, if ever I had any doubt of my religion that would settle me. Instead of which I found it the description of the horridest sacrileges in the world, and could find no reason why we left the Church, but for three the most abominable ones that ever were heard of among Christians. First, Henry VIII renounces the Papal authority, because he would not give him leave to part with his wife, and marry another in her life-time. Secondly, Edward VI was a child and govern'd by his uncle, who made his estate out of Church lands; and then Queen

[1] *Ecclesia restaurata; or, the History of the Reformation of the Church of England.* Folio, London. 1661.

APPENDIX I

Elizabeth, who being no lawful heiress to the crown, could have no way to keep it but by renouncing a church that could never suffer so unlawful a thing to be done by one of her children. I confess, I cannot think the Holy Ghost could ever be in such councils. . . . These scruples being rais'd, I began to consider of the difference between the Catholics and us, and examin'd them as well as I could by Holy Scripture, which, tho' I do not pretend to be able to understand, yet there are some things I found so easy, that I cannot but wonder I had been so long without finding them out: As the real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament, the Infallibility of the Church, Confession and Praying for the Dead.'

APPENDIX II

NOTE ON THE BINDING AND PAGINATION OF THE MS.

Mr. R. I. Best, Hon. D.Litt, member of the Royal Irish Academy and Librarian of the National Library of Ireland, has kindly supplied the information on which the following is based—

The binding of the MS. (plain red morocco) cannot be much later than the date of James's death (1701), and is clearly early eighteenth century. It is obvious from the cropping of the pages and gilding of the edges that James did not have a blank volume bound to use as a commonplace book. On the contrary, it is probable that after the king's death certain sheets containing portions of these devotional papers were found and bound into a volume, the binder shaving the edges and gilding them. Later on, when other leaves were discovered, the volume was torn asunder, the new pages intercalated and the whole paginated. The inserted leaves caused the back to swell and the joint to burst.

King James wrote on sheets of note-paper, eighteen of which are numbered in the upper left-hand corner. The longest sequence is five. The numbering of the pages throughout on the top right-hand side was clearly done when the volume was being re-bound. The fact that some of the smaller (8vo) leaves are gilt, even those that are irregularly trimmed, would tend to prove that there was more than one bound and gilt-edged *receuil*, a smaller volume having been taken to pieces and inserted in the larger, together with some scraps, written on leaves of varying sizes and not gilt.

The following scheme of the leaves, which I owe in its entirety to Dr. Best, elucidates these facts and also assists any attempt to reconstruct the order in which James II composed his devotional papers. In this scheme it should be assumed that the sheets are quarto and gilt, unless the contrary is stated.

APPENDIX II

Pagination in the top left-hand corner.	*Pagination in the top right-hand corner.*	*Notes.*
1	1–4	
2	5–8	
3	9–12	
4	13–16	
5	17–18	Second half cut off.
	19–22	
	23–26	
2	27–30	
	31–34	
	35–38	
2	39–42	
3	43–46	
4	47–48	Second half cut off.
1	49–50	A single leaf.
2	51–52	Second half cut off.
	53–54	A single leaf.
	55–56	A half-page page inset, and attached to the preceding by strips. Not gilt.
	57–66	57–58 and 65–66 are folio leaves and not gilt. 59–60 is a leaf, and 61–62 and 63–64 are single half leaves intercalated.
1	67–68	8vo. Not gilt.
2	69–70	
	71–74	
2	75–76	Second half cut off.
	77–78	8vo.
	79–80	8vo. Writing on p. 80 upside down.
	81–82	Second half cut off. Not gilt.
	83–84	8vo. Second half cut off. Not gilt.
	85–88	
2	89–92	
3	93–96	
	97–98	Second half cut off.
	99–102	8vo. Cut unevenly.
	103–106	
	107–110	Different paper and ink. Smaller 4to. Hand more rapid.
	111–114	
	115–118	Not gilt.

APPENDIX II

Pagination in the top left-hand corner.	*Pagination in the top right-hand corner.*	*Notes.*
2	119–122	8vo.
	123–124	8vo. Second half cut off. } Cut unevenly.
	125–128	8vo. Not gilt.
	129–130	A strip inserted, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. Not gilt.
	131–134	8vo. Cut unevenly.
	135–136	Second half cut off.
	137–140	
2	141–142	Second half cut off.
	143–146	
	147	A strip pasted across p. 148.
	148–149 }	A single leaf.
	150–151 }	
	152–155	
	156–157	Second half cut off.
	158–159)	A single leaf.
	160–161 }	
	162–163 }	
	164–165)	
	166–167	8vo. Pasted to preceding. Not gilt.
	168–171	Slightly broader than rest of volume.
	172–173	A single leaf.